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The First Century of Books

by

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R. D. HILTON SMITH

Foreword by

SAMUEL ROTHSTEIN

1969

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Foreword

Northwestern Approaches: The First Century of Books had its genesis in a series of lectures given by Mr. Hilton Smith to the students of the University of British Columbia School of Librarianship in 1966. The lectures were designed with two aims in mind: to give prospective librarians some knowledge of the important books relating to the exploration of British Columbia and to demonstrate the intrinsic interest of the beginning period of British Columbia's history.

Mr. Smith has succeeded admirably in both aims. Although he himself might not approve of the term, this is in fact "bibliography without tears." Himself a collector, bookseller, librarian and student, Mr. Smith offers an often witty and always knowledgeable guide for all four groups. He even provides some useful hints for the publisher. Mr. Smith points out that many of these landmark books deserve translation or new editions. University presses, please take note.

All of this is presented, as a good historical bibliography always should be, in close context with the events which gave rise to the books themselves. The exploration of British Columbia, with men of five nations competing for gold and glory, must be one of the most colourful periods in North American history. Mr. Smith has taken obvious pleasure in learning it and his own enjoyment is communicated to the reader in the relish and irony with which he describes heroics and rascality. There can have been few history lectures that were ever interrupted by frequent laughter. These were, and the human interest, good humour and zest for the subject show through equally well in this written version.

Some considerable human interest even attaches itself to the production of this book. When the lectures were given, it was recognized that they deserved a wider audience than one class of the School of Librarianship. Mr. Smith agreed to prepare a manuscript for publication, completed it in a single copy, and then, in a kind of dreadful re-run of Thomas Carlyle's famous mishap with *The French Revolution*, lost it. It took him almost two years to re-do it, but it has been well worth waiting for.

SAMUEL ROTHSTEIN
Director, School of Librarianship,
The University of British Columbia.

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For help of many kinds I am indebted to many different people, including all those who have worked earlier in the same field, but my special thanks go to:

Dr. Samuel Rothstein, Director of the School of Librarianship, University of British Columbia, for originating these lectures, asking me to give them, nudging me into print, and writing his generous foreword.

Mr. Glen Adams of Ye Galleon Press, Fairfield, Washington, for information supplied gladly, quickly and with the thoroughness of the true scholar.

Mr. Robert Hitchman of Seattle, whose periodical conspectus of new publications and reprints of northwestern interest, *Sighted from the Crow's Nest*, has been an invaluable source of information.

Dr. Archibald Hanna, Jr., Curator of the Western Americana Collection at Yale; Dr. John B. Tompkins, Head of Public Services at the University of California Library, Berkeley; and Mr. Marcus A. McCorison, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., for their co-operation in providing the illustrations, from books in their keeping.

My secretary, Mrs. Sheila Litt, for typing the manuscript and for welcoming additions, subtractions and second thoughts with a smile and a fresh sheet of typing paper.

My wife for never once falling asleep while I read the manuscript to her by instalments.

R.D.H.S.

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Background and Introduction

I

This is not a bibliography, nor is it a pemmican history of the early northwest, although in some ways it shares the nature of both. It is a series of informal lectures, slightly expanded and re-arranged, on the books written by the explorers of British Columbia and its approaches during the century which began with Bering's first voyage and ended with Sir George Simpson's second journey to the Columbia. Those were stirring days, when the men of five nations — Russia, Spain, Great Britain, France and the United States — were contending for gold and glory in the uncharted seas of the north Pacific or amongst the great unknown rivers and mountain ranges of the interior.

Very briefly and crudely the early history of northwestern exploration may be summarized thus:

(1) Alleged voyages to the northwest in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by Juan de Fuca, Admiral de Fonte, Martin de Aguilar and Lorenzo Maldonado were either pure inventions or based upon flimsy evidence. Nevertheless they gained credence in some influential quarters, found their way into maps, and bedevilled geographers and navigators until nearly the end of the eighteenth century;

(2) The first authentic explorations were those of the Russians to Alaska, led by Vitus Bering, in 1728 and 1741. His discoveries and reports touched off a long series of fur-trading expeditions from Russia and Siberia to Alaska, followed by Krenitzin's official expedition in 1768 and later by great circumnavigations on an imperial scale;

(3) Ensconced in Mexico, the Spaniards had long claimed sovereignty over the entire Pacific coast of America, but they made no serious attempt to establish it in the northwest until the likelihood of Russian penetration southward began to alarm them. Then, beginning with the Perez expedition of 1774, they sent several expeditions northward until the British finally dislodged them from the coast in the 1790's;

(4) Disturbed by the Spanish pretensions and activities off the seaboard of Canada, and still nursing the centuries-old hope of finding the Northwest Passage, the British government sent Captain Cook on what

was to be his last voyage. His discovery of Nootka Sound in 1778 and news of the wealth to be had from the sea-otter trade with the Orient touched off a chain of trading voyages akin to those which followed Bering's expeditions. Matching this approach by sea were the overland expeditions organized by the Canadian fur companies, ever pushing westward;

(5) Impelled by considerations of national prestige and intellectual curiosity, but not without hope of breaking into the fur trade, the French sent an official expedition under La Perouse in 1785. A few other expeditions followed, but the French were never as active in these regions as the other nations concerned;

(6) Pre-occupied with the building of their new nation, and deterred by the East India Company's monopoly control over Pacific trade, (whereby an unlicensed ship could be seized as a prize) the Americans were last on the scene. Once there, they became very active. Starting with Robert Gray's arrival on the coast in 1788, the New England merchants and others maintained a brisk trade between their home ports, the northwest coast and the Orient.

What of the men who led these expeditions, and those who manned them? Some were men of high purpose — professional commanders devoted to their calling, honourable, efficient and resolute, setting themselves hard tasks but conscious of their responsibility to those who served with them. Some were scientists, sent to observe and record whatever they found new and strange in the world of nature. Some were artists, who have left excellent representations of the new lands and peoples they visited. Some were gifted amateurs who found time from their technical duties to study the social usages and the languages of the native people.

Others were sordid examples of man the predator, ransacking the earth and seas, blind to the needs of the future or the sufferings of the human beings and animals he preys upon, drugged into inhumanity by the smell of gold. The chronicles of northwestern exploration have in them much that is noble, but they are smirched by sickening cruelties, and bloody massacres of man and beast. It was only gradually that the buccaneering spirit of earlier days gave way to a more humane and more scientific approach to exploration. The latter half of the eighteenth century was the turning point.

Some of the explorers wrote their own books, so far as we know unaided. Others handed over their journals to a ghostwriter or an editor, who tinkered with the text and polished the prose until the finished product qualified as "polite literature." The books themselves are as diverse as the men who made them. A few are little more than pamphlets, but most of them are splendid pieces of bookmaking. These shapely quartos and folios, well printed on fine paper, lavishly illustrated with engravings and maps, capture in their physical appearance something of the sweep and grandeur of the exploits they record.

All, or nearly all, of them are scarce and costly in the first editions. A young collector today aiming to collect the major books in this field would need much patience, plenty of time for hunting, and a healthy book-fund. Yet, although he may not be able to gladden his heart with a fine original edition, he can often acquire at a fraction of the cost a second or later edition or a modern reprint. The smaller and cheaper reprints are a multiple blessing. Firstly, they put excellent books within everybody's reach. Secondly, they are usually fortified with scholarly introductions and notes which throw new light on the book, the author and the circumstances. Thirdly, the size and weight of the originals rule them out for bed-time reading except by means of an arrangement of ropes, pulleys and lecterns. Nowadays the collector can keep the first edition in his library for reference and for purring over, and the reprint on his bedside table for straight reading.

For the Russian, Spanish and French narratives most of the collectors reading these pages will favour the English translations, where such exist. Although they generally serve well enough, this is not always true of the illustrations and maps which supplement the text so agreeably. For instance, the first English edition of Krusenstern's *Voyage Round the World* has one map and two plates; the Russian and German editions published at St. Petersburg include a separate folio atlas of 105 plates and maps. The Paris editions of Fleurieu's account of the Marchand voyage of 1790-1792 have an atlas with fifteen plates and maps; there are only eight in the English edition. The wise collector will therefore be on the alert for lonely atlases divorced from their original partners, and will try to arrange a marriage between his own set and the stray.

II

As this is a book about books and not about history, I have not aimed at a strict chronological arrangement throughout, but have discussed the books under broad national headings, with the Russians and the Spaniards intermingled in the first chapter, followed by the British, the French and the Americans. As the emphasis is on

British Columbia, I have not included books on the Lewis and Clark expedition, the Astor venture or other equally significant aspects of north-western development as a whole. I have had to paint on a very broad canvas, so to speak, with no opportunity for detail. It will be apparent that several matters merely touched upon here were in fact quite intricate affairs which have a distinct literature of their own.

Most of the books have long titles, in the manner of their period. Rather than cumber the text with these I have, with few exceptions, used just enough of the title to identify the book. Each title is followed by a number corresponding to the number of that book in the alphabetical check-list at the end. This list gives full (or fuller) titles and other information, as well as references to some bibliographies and catalogues from which further information may be gleaned.

Bibliographical guides to northwestern literature are few, and these few are far from complete. The one most often cited is C. W. Smith's *Pacific Northwest Americana* (63), a check-list of the holdings of 38 libraries in the northwest United States and British Columbia. It is by far the most comprehensive listing available, covering the entire field from the beginning to modern times, but it is rather weak on the early material and there are several notable absentees. The last edition was in 1950. No doubt many of the participating libraries have added to their holdings since then.

More to our point is *The Northwest Coast* (18), an admirable catalogue issued in 1941 by the famous New York booksellers Edward Eberstadt & Sons. Couched in narrative form and well illustrated and indexed, it includes most of the explorations by sea from Bering to Wilkes. It does not cover explorations by land. I have adapted the Eberstadt arrangement to the pages that follow, and acknowledge with respectful greetings my debt to them for the general idea and for the painstaking research which went into the catalogue. Eberstadt references are given in the checklist, but please note that these refer to the item number, not the page number.

Peter Decker's catalogue of the great Soliday collection of western Americana (15) is another indispensable guide put out by a famous bookseller. This collection of 7,500 books and pamphlets was strong in Canadian and northwestern material. The notes which accompany the entries are very full and interesting, but there are occasional errors in attribution, mis-datings and other slips, hardly to be avoided in such a massive undertaking. References in the check-list are given as "Soliday": here it should be noted that the catalogue is in four parts, each numbered in a separate sequence, so the reference is first to the part and secondly to the item number.

Wright Howes' *U.S. iana* (31) is an alphabetical listing of more than 11,000 significant books including most of the books discussed here. Used by booksellers as a guide to values and scarcity, it has come to be recognized as a scholarly selective bibliography for most purposes. It is rich in bibliographical detail, discriminating in the choice of material, and gives the locations of very rare or apparently unique books. Check-list references are to "Howes."

Of the many other reference books helpful to the student and collector, I can mention only a few. For our purposes, two names are pre-eminent, Henry R. Wagner of California and Frederick W. Howay of British Columbia. Neither was a professional historian; both were outstanding scholar-collectors and excellent writers who touched nothing that they did not adorn. The works of each complements almost perfectly the work of the other — Wagner as the authority on cartography and the Spanish voyages, Howay on most other aspects of northwestern history and exploration.

Wagner's *Cartography of the Northwest Coast* (70) traces the development of map-making from the legendary beginnings to the scientific era of Vancouver and Broughton. It includes brief but adequate descriptions of the major voyages and reproduces dozens of fascinating maps. About one half of the second volume is taken up by indexes of Place Names Still in Use and Obsolete Place Names. The latter is particularly useful for identifying references in the older books which would otherwise be obscure. There is a fine bibliography, giving locations of important manuscript material when no printed sources are available. The same author's *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca* (71) describes the voyages in detail and includes the first translations into English of some of the original journals.

Howay's name as an editor and commentator will crop up again and again in these pages, but special mention must be made of his *List of Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade* (29). Covering the period 1785-1825, this invaluable record occupies no less than 170 pages. A mere glance through it will show, in a way that can be shown by no other means, how huge and varied was the local sea traffic then. In bringing to light the voyages of which no printed records exist, Howay pointed the way to much further research.

In his *After Bering: Mapping the North Pacific* (67), Stuart R.

Tompkins gives a thorough and carefully-researched chronology of the earlier voyages, showing how the expeditions working under different national flags interlocked with each other, and brought the several governments into conflict for possession of these regions.

One of the most interesting and valuable of the relevant books is John T. Walbran's *British Columbia Coast Names* (72), published by the Dominion Government in 1909 and now, alas, out of print and exceedingly hard to find. It is a veritable mine of information on coast history, place-names, explorers and settlers, with summaries of the chief explorations, and replete with out-of-the-way material difficult to find elsewhere. There is vague talk of a reprint, but it remains vague. In the interests of national unity, every red-blooded British Columbian should write to his local M.P. urging him to pursue the matter at Ottawa until Walbran is in print again.

I

Spaniards versus Russians

What really prompted Peter the Great of Russia to plan the first European expedition to the northwest we can never know. Ostensibly it was to find out whether Asia and America were joined by land or separated by water. However, there is ample evidence to show that this information, in the form of reports from mariners and even a sketch map, had first become available to the Russians eighty-five years before. Perhaps the Tsar sought confirmation of these earlier reports; perhaps he wanted to know more about the furthest reaches of his enormous empire; perhaps he was after loot. Be that as it may, he ordered Vitus Bering, a Danish naval captain in the employ of Russia, to take a party overland from St. Petersburg to the Pacific, there to build ships and explore the coast of Siberia until he could establish beyond doubt the relationship of the two continents.

In 1725 Bering set out with thirty-three men and wagons of supplies on the 6,000-mile trek by road and river to Kamchatka, picking up more men and supplies on the way. The expedition sailed in July 1728. Bering reached 67° north, discovered St. Lawrence Island, now a part of Alaska, and the Diomede Islands, but missed the mainland of America by a few miles. On his return to St. Petersburg in 1730 he made a report, of which a copy fell into the hands of a French geographer Du Halde. Du Halde put the report into his 4-volume book on China, published in Paris in 1735 and in London the following year under the title *General History of China* (17). This is the first printed book describing any part of Alaska. The report runs to only twelve pages, but does include Bering's map of the voyage.

Provoked by criticism on the inconclusive results of this expedition, and perhaps feeling that he had been over-cautious in turning back so soon, Bering himself suggested his second expedition, the one that was to be his undoing. But as time went on, and as more and more bureaucrats and specialists added their pennyworths to the planning, the thing became a nightmare. Finally, after shepherding 3,000 men and the attendant supplies across the wastes of Siberia for four years, and meeting appalling difficulties most of the way, Bering set sail from Petropavlosk in June 1741. By now he was a harried and exhausted man of sixty. He was in command of the *St. Peter*, with Chirikov in command of the *St. Paul.* Soon after sailing, the two ships became separated, not to meet again.

Both men met disaster. Chirikov reached America by July. Anchoring near Sitka he sent out two boats to find a safe harbour; the boats were seized and the crews massacred by the natives. He cruised along the shores for about a month, then turned for home through one of the most desolate and storm-swept regions of the world. Meantime, Bering's health grew worse, and most of the load seems to have fallen on the shoulders of his second-in-command, Sven Waxell.

After they had sighted the American shore and examined it for a time, Bering also headed home. But the *St. Peter* foundered on what is now Bering Island. There Bering and many of his companions died. A few survivors fashioned a boat from the wreckage, loaded it with furs, and eventually reached Petropavlosk in the summer of 1742, nearly a year after Chirikov.

The earliest account of Bering's voyage in English is a 60-page pamphlet generally attributed to Gerhard Müller, historian on the expedition, *A Letter from a Russian Sea-Officer* (48). It was first published in French in Berlin in 1753; but the English translation also includes a letter from Arthur Dobbs supporting the author in his strictures on a tendentious account by J. N. Delisle, brother of the astronomer on Chirikov's ship. (Illustration number 1).

The pamphlet has interest and distinction as a "famous first," but the same author's *Voyages from Asia to America* (49) is the most complete near-contemporary account. It includes a summary of other Russian voyages, and four maps. It is unfortunate that the account written by Johann Gmelin, botanist on the expedition, has not been translated into English. The first edition of his *Reise durch Sibirien* (23) was published in Gottingen in 1751-52 in four volumes. An abridged version in French appeared in Samuel Engel's *Mémoires et Observations Geographiques* (19) along with Müller's observations and a discussion of the hypothetical voyages of Fonte and de Fuca.

One of the most interesting first-hand accounts of the expedition, by Lieutenant Sven Waxell, Bering's Swedish second-in-command, lay around unpublished for nearly two hundred years. Translated into English as *The American Expedition* (73) it appeared in 1952. The introduction by M. A. Michael sketches the background excellently. However, the best modern edition of Bering proper is F. A. Golder's *Bering's Voyages* (24), published in two volumes in 1935. It contains not only the original log-books and official reports, but also the quite captivating journal by George Steller, naturalist to the expedition, who wrote well. Golder's own observations and notes are those of a master of his subject.

The aftermath of Bering's expeditions was a "fur-rush" comparable to the gold-rushes of later days. But the dozens of voyages by independent traders did little to advance navigation or add to man's knowledge of the area. These adventurers scoured the coasts slaughtering sea-otters, and were often equally ruthless in the slaughter of the human beings who might stand in their path. Thus the sea-otter became to the Pacific Coast what the beaver was to the Atlantic.

It was not until 1768 that another official expedition set out. By order of the Empress Catherine, Captain Krenitzin took two ships to Alaska, to expand and round off the work of Bering and Chirikov. This voyage, and other Russian discoveries are covered in William Coxe's *Account of the Russian Discoveries* (14). Coxe took up where Müller left off. He spent some time in St. Petersburg collecting and translating the relevant journals after 1741. The first English edition appeared in 1780, but the best edition is the third, published in 1787, as it contains additional material, has an index, and reprints Coxe's pamphlet published in a small number the same year, "A Comparative View of the Russian Discoveries with Those Made by Captains Cook and Clerke."

It was Krenitzin's expedition that began to alert the Spaniards to the danger of Russian penetration southward and a possible challenge to the sovereignty they claimed over the whole coast. The Spanish diplomats in Russia collected all the supporting information they could and warned the authorities at home. Meantime the independent Russian trading voyages continued, hardly a year passing without one or more setting out.

Finally the reports from St. Petersburg coupled with the trend of Spanish policy in the new world, resulted in the Perez expedition of 1774. Juan Perez set out from Monterey on the *Santiago*, with instructions to explore the coast to 60° north latitude. His co-pilot was Esteban Martinez, afterwards to become famous in the annals of the northwest. They reached about 55° north, and then turned south. Whether they touched at Nootka, on the west coast of Vancouver Island, is debatable, but it is reasonably certain that these were the first white travellers to see the coast of what is now British Columbia. This was also the first expedition to be assigned specifically to the northwest coast.

A short account of the voyage will be found in Wagner's *Cartography* (70) and journals were kept by two Franciscan friars, Crespi and Pena, who accompanied Perez. Both journals were published in English by the Historical Society of California in 1891, and Crespi's will also be found in translation in Herbert E. Bolton's *Fray Juan Crespi* (5).

This had been a trail-blazing expedition, but it left many questions unanswered. The energetic viceroy of Mexico, Antonio Bucareli, straightway had the *Santiago* refitted for a second voyage. This time she was under the command of Bruno Hezeta, with Perez as his assistant. She was accompanied by a small schooner, the *Sonora*, commanded by Bodega y Quadra and with Maurelle as pilot. The two ships left San Blas in March 1775 and were away about eight months. It was an historic voyage, for on July 14, when Hezeta landed with a small party on Destruction Island in latitude 47° 20′ north, these were the first Europeans to set foot on the soil of the northwest coast.

After a disastrous encounter with the natives, Hezeta was for turning back, but Quadra and Maurelle dissented. With the question still unresolved, a storm separated the ships, and the *Sonora* continued to push northward. These intrepid men, on a 27-foot ship manned by a crew of fifteen, reached 58° north latitude, well up into the Alaska region. The return journey was hazardous, but the two vessels were re-united at Monterey in October. On his return journey Hezeta had discovered and named what he took to be a great bay, 'Ensenada de Hezeta," in fact the mouth of the Columbia, which Robert Gray discovered in the fuller sense in 1792.

There are several accounts of the voyage, including Benito de la Sierra's *Account of the Hezeta Expedition* (59) and Maurelle's journal. This first appeared in English, accompanied by a map of the coast, in *Miscellanies* (2) by Daines Barrington, an interesting character who somehow got hold of Maurelle's manuscript. A very fine reprint of the journal was published in a severely limited edition at San Francisco in 1920. It includes interpretive notes, indexes, and a facsimile of the large official map showing Spanish discoveries on the coast to 1791. Another attractive contribution is *A Journal of Explorations Northward* (7) by Fray Miguel de la Campa, the Franciscan accompanying Hezeta. This was printed by Lawton Kennedy at San Francisco in 1964 in a limited, but not too limited, edition.

Literature on the Arteaga expedition of 1779 is scant, but there is a summary in Wagner (70) and in Eberstadt (18: pages 35-37). This is the expedition which prompted the viceroy of Spain in Mexico to affirm that "no further discoveries in a northerly direction would be required." He spoke too soon, for he spoke without knowledge of Cook's third voyage and its repercussions.

The next major Spanish voyage did not set out until 1788, so we return to the Russians and their doings. In 1783 Grigor Shelekhov established at Kodiak the first permanent settlement on the northwest coast and began his move to secure a trading monopoly for the region. Thus he laid the foundations of the Russian-American Fur Company, which, under Baranov as manager, was to become a vast monopolistic organization akin to the Hudson's Bay Company in Canada.

Shelekhov's record shows him to have been a man of action, but if he composed the title-page of his journal as well as the book itself, he was not only a loquacious empire-builder but also an excellent salesman. Here is the translation of the title-page of the original Russian edition, St. Petersburg, 1791 (illustration number 2):

> The Voyage of Gregory Shelekhov, a Russian Merchant, in the Year 1783, from Okhotsk over the Eastern Ocean to the American Shores; with a Circumstantial Account of the Discovery of the Islands of Kyktak and Afagnak Newly Found by Him; to which is added a Description of the Way of Life, the Customs, the Observances, the Habitations and the Dress of the Peoples Who Have Submitted Themselves to the Russian Dominion; also of the Climate, of the Yearly Changes, of the Beasts, Domestic Animals, Fishes, Birds, Plants and of Many Other Curious Objects Found Therein, All of which is Faithfully and Accurately Described by Himself. With a Map and a Representation of the Traveller Himself, and of the Savages Found by Him.

In the face of such eloquence there is no need to describe the book further, except to add that it is not a multi-volume work, nor a stout quarto, nor a stout anything, but a slim octavo of 76 pages. In the Soliday Catalogue (15), Part II, No. 1261 f there is a long and interesting note on its bibliographical history. A part-translation into English appeared in London in 1795 in the second volume of a miscellany called *Varieties of Literature* (58).

Shelekhov's expedition was a commercial venture, but by 1785, when he was still in the northwest, another Russian official expedition was ready to sail. Under the command of Captain Joseph Billings, a former British naval officer who had served as an A.B. with Cook, it set out without the fanfare usual on such occasions. Its announced purpose was to continue the exploration of the Frozen Ocean, the Alaskan coast and islands; a secondary purpose was to see what Shelekhov was up to and to keep an eye on the French explorer La Perouse, whose ships were in the northwest at that time. A third objective was to test the possibility of setting up Russian settlements along the entire coast and establishing sovereignty there in much the same way as the Spaniards aimed to do. But Billings, able navigator though he was, lacked the experience and finesse to bring off this part of his assignment.

The expedition did not return until 1794, but it was not at sea for all of those years. Much time was spent on overland treks or in camp at various points of call. Billings' second-in-command Gavrilla Sarychev, and the historian and secretary, Martin Sauer, both kept journals of the voyage. An abridged translation of Sarychev's *Account of a Voyage of Discovery* (56) appeared in London in 1806. The Sauer journal, *Account of a Geographical and Astronomical Expedition* (57) is much fuller and a valuable contribution to the history of the Russian fur trade. The appendix contains a vocabulary of the native languages. Billings forged an interesting link with Cook's last expedition when he visited at Kamchatka the grave of Captain Clerke, who succeeded Cook after the latter's murder in Hawaii, and himself died of consumption soon after.

Although fur-trading expeditions continued, there were no more major Russian voyages until after the turn of the century, so we return to the Spaniards — to the famous Martinez expedition of 1789, which nearly resulted in war between England and Spain. Martinez sailed from San Blas to Nootka with orders to watch the operations of the Russians, to occupy Nootka and build a fort there, and to enforce Spanish rights in the region generally. Before long he found himself on a collision course with John Meares, one of the most picturesque scoundrels to sail these waters. The operations of Meares and his associates will be covered more fully in the next chapter: suffice it to say here that the Spaniards won the first round but lost the fight. What started as a private quarrel rapidly became an international dispute between Spain and Great Britain, culminating in the Nootka Treaty of 1790 whereby the British secured the right of joint occupancy with Spain. It was the beginning of the end of Spain's colonial empire.

There is no English translation of the Martinez journal, but in his *Cartography of the Northwest Coast* (70) Wagner gives a summary, together with a brief account of the climactic events of that summer. A few years ago the complete journal in Spanish, *Coleccion de Diarios y Relaciones* (44) was published in Madrid. However, until a full translation into English becomes available the seeker after truth who has no Spanish can get at first hand only one side of the story, from Meares and his crooked friends.

During the long argument between Spain and Great Britain over territorial rights, the Spaniards did not lessen their activities. In 1790-91 expeditions under Quimper and Eliza explored the straits of Juan de Fuca and Georgia. Their journals have been translated and edited by Wagner in his *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca* (71). An offshoot of the Eliza expedition is of peculiar interest to us in this University. A pilot, Narvaez, was sent off on a three-week exploration of the Gulf of Georgia in a small schooner, the *Santa Saturnina.* In July 1791 he reached Point Grey. To Narvaez, therefore, belongs the honour of being the first white man to anchor off the University of British Columbia!

By this time Nootka Sound, remote and inaccessible by land, had become a very busy harbour, with the naval and trading vessels of several nations performing a continuous but not over-friendly square dance in the region, and the hucksters of several nations wooing the local Indians with gifts of trash in return for furs. The Spanish grip was slackening, but Spain was still jealous for her reputation as a great maritime and colonizing power. The government therefore fitted out an expedition on the lines of those which had been led by Cook for Great Britain and La Perouse for France. Accompanied by a group of scientists, artists and other specialists Alejandro Malaspina set out from Spain with the corvettes *Descubierta* and *Atrevida* on a voyage of world circumnavigation. After visiting both coasts of South America he reached the northwest in 1791 and explored Vancouver Island and its surroundings. Pressing on as far as 60° north latitude he fell in with the Russians several times.

On his arrival home in 1794, the authorities greeted Malaspina with a splendid official welcome and then threw him into jail, where he remained for fourteen years until rescued by one of Napoleon's Marshals. His journals were seized and suppressed. Nearly a century passed before their publication in Madrid under the title *Viage*

Politico-Cientifico Alrededor del Mundo (43). This is not yet available in English, nor is an unofficial account written by a subaltern on the voyage, Francisco J. de Viana's *Diario del Viage Explorador* (69). However, another unofficial diary was kept by Tomas Suria, the artist of the expedition. Translated and edited by H. R. Wagner, it was published in 1936 as *Journal of His Voyage with Malaspina* (65). Alas, it appeared in a privately printed edition limited to 100 copies, so the only eye-witness record in English is now very hard to come by. As Wagner says in his introduction, "the frank expression of the author's opinion, which would not be tolerated in an official journal, adds intense interest to his account."

The last major Spanish voyage, and one which engendered some of the most interesting and attractive literature, was the expedition led by Alcala-Galiano and Valdes in the schooners *Sutil* and *Mexicana,* which reached Nootka in May 1792. Their special assignment was to explore thoroughly the channels and shoreline at the east end of the Strait of Juan du Fuca: the newly-appointed Viceroy of Spain had an idea for re-locating the Spanish post there and establishing it as the boundary line between Spanish and British interests. At Esquimalt Bay they encountered Vancouver's expedition, and for a time Britons and Spaniards explored and surveyed together, though not without some mutual distrust.

The account of this voyage by J. de Espinosa y Tello, *Relacion del Viage Hecho por las Goletas "Sutil" y "Mexicana"* (20), was published in Madrid in 1802 in a volume of text accompanied by a splendid and fascinating folio atlas of nine folding maps and eight engraved plates. (Illustrations number 3 and 4). This work is one of the rarest and most prized of all northwestern narratives, and its value is enhanced by a long historical introduction which includes a masterly account of earlier Spanish explorations in the region. It was the work of M. F. de Navarette, but he is not even mentioned in the book.

A good facsimile reprint, limited to 200 copies, was published in Madrid in 1958. There was also a translation of sorts by Cecil Jane, entitled *A Spanish Voyage to Vancouver and the North-West Coast* (20). It is a handsome and rather costly book, but it omits much of the original text, as well as the invaluable introduction.

There was another brief expedition under Eliza and Martinez y Zayas in 1793, but meantime Bodega y Quadra for Spain and Vancouver for Great Britain had been wining, dining and negotiating at Nootka. Spain's interest began to flag and by 1795 the

Spaniards were out of Nootka and the ships seized from Meares had been returned. But the Spaniards have left as a permanent memorial of their short domination the names of innumerable islands and capes, channels and bays, streets and squares, hotels and motels, and other features of the lands they had been the first to explore and to delineate.

Up in Alaska the Russians had consolidated and expanded their operations. The Russian-American Company under Baranov met temporary disaster at Sitka in 1802, when the Kolosh attacked the post it had set up there and massacred nearly all of the garrison, setting up their heads on poles to discourage other would-be colonizers. Two years later Lisiansky recaptured this stronghold, and a permanent Russian settlement was established.

Lisiansky was one of the brilliant group of officers who led the first Russian circumnavigation of the globe and set up regular sea communication with the northwest coast. This great expedition — with Krusenstern in command of the *Nadeshda* and Lisiansky of the *Neva*, with Langsdorff as doctor and naturalist, and Kotzebue as a young officer-in-training, set sail in 1803. In the course of a three-year voyage they visited, amongst other places, the Canary Islands, Brazil, the Marquesas, China and Japan, but the narratives of the three leaders are particularly interesting and important in regard to northwestern discoveries.

The first and best edition of Krusenstern's narrative (35) was issued in St. Petersburg in 1809-12, with a German translation on its heels. Both editions consist of three volumes of text and a folio atlas of 105 maps and plates, and both are extremely scarce. The French edition of 1821 has an atlas of 30 maps and plates. The English translation, *Voyage Round the World* (35), also scarce but somewhat easier to find than the others, is in two volumes with only two plates and a single map. Krusenstern was highly critical of this edition, complaining that the translator's ignorance of navigation and nautical usage sometimes obscured the author's meaning. However, the valuable introduction — full of information on Russian discoveries during the eighteenth century, commerce and the fur-trade, and the Russian-American Company — stands up well.

Lisiansky, on the *Neva*, separated from his Commander-in-Chief at the Sandwich Islands and thereafter pursued his own course. His narrative, very adequately translated and presented, appeared as *A Voyage Round the World* (40). He deals at length with the Russian move southward, the events at Sitka, and the habits and customs of the natives. In this instance the English edition is as well illustrated as the Russian original. For this part of the expedition there is also available the journal of N. I. Korobitsyn, clerk of the *Neva.* Along with much other relevant material it will be found in *Russian Discoveries in the Pacific and in North America* (1).

Langsdorff's contribution, translated into English as *Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World* (37) is valuable for its scientific observations and, like Krusenstern's for its historical background. The foremost historian of the northwest, H. H. Bancroft, says that Langsdorff's account is more reliable than Krusenstern's. It includes an interesting description of the Russian settlement near San Francisco.

As a boy of sixteen Otto von Kotzebue had accompanied Krusentern round the world. We meet him again as a young man of twenty-eight commanding the brig *Rurick,* on an expedition organized by Count Romanzoff to search for the ever-elusive Northeast (or Northwest) Passage, and to explore the lesser-known parts of the northwest and of Oceania. With a complement of 27 men, including several scientists and the French artist Louis Choris, Kotzebue set sail in 1815 and was away for three years. He made many notable discoveries and clarified many matters previously in doubt. Although the original edition of his narrative, published at Weimar in 1821, has more text and more plates than the English translation, *A Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Beering's Straits* (34), the latter is an imposing and fascinating book. Kotzebue led another three-year expedition in 1823-26, but his narrative of that voyage is chiefly concerned with the central and south Pacific.

The famous artist of Kotzebue's first expedition, Louis Choris, produced in his *Voyage Pittoresque Autour du Monde* (8) more than 100 striking pictures of scenery, natural history, native life and domestic arrangements, and other glimpses of the lands they visited. (Illustration number 5). In the best examples of this large and elaborate book all of the plates are beautifully coloured by hand.

Vasilii M. Golovnin was an experienced and trusted naval officer sent out by the Russian government in 1817-19 to report on the colonies, settlements and commercial activities along the entire Pacific coast. He came up with a bitter denunciation of Shelekhov, Baranov and all their works. Unfortunately this major publication, *Puteshestvie Vokrug Svieta po Poveleniiu Gosudaria,* has not been translated. However, an earlier book of his, *Memoirs of a Captivity in Japan* (25) includes at the end of the third volume, but in the second edition only, an account by Admiral Shishkov of fur-trading voyages in 1804-07, as well as comments on the voyages of Krusenstern and Broughton.

An attractive little book with much bearing on Russian activities was written by an English fur-trader, Peter Corney. His *Voyages in the North Pacific* (13) was first published serially in *The London Literary Gazette* in 1821 and, strangely, was overlooked by the historians until published as a book in Honolulu in 1896. There is an excellent modern reprint (13), with interesting prefatory material about Corney and his associates and his later connection with the Hudson's Bay Company.

Bibliographically speaking, the last great Russian voyage to the northwest rounded off their explorations in an unexampled blaze of glory. The occasion was Feodor Lutke's expedition of 1826-29, and his account of it, *Putesnestvie Vokrug Svieta* . . . bears the same relationship to an ordinary book as the Palace of Versailles bears to a peasant's cottage. The complete set comprises seven folio and quarto volumes, with the outstanding feature a series of magnificent plates, engraved by Englemann from the original drawings by Baron Kittlitz and superbly hand-coloured. The bibliographer Sabin calls them "the most interesting representations ever published," Peter Decker places them several notches above the famous colour-plates of Prince Maximilian von Wied, Eberstadt describes the set as a "superlative rarity." Hence there seemed little point in including it in the check-list, but the girl who has everything may enjoy the mouth-watering description in *Soliday II, No. 918a* (15) of the only complete set ever reported.

During the period of expansion and consolidation by the Russian-American Company the Hudson's Bay Company had also been extending its operations, and had become a force to be reckoned with in the far northwest. Realizing that the kind of rivalry which had marked fur-trade history up to that time would get them nowhere, the two companies wisely entered into a working agreement. It flourished from 1829 until 1867, when Russia bowed out of the northwest by selling Alaska to the United States.

II

The British Approach by Land and Sea

Probably the most significant event in northwestern history was Captain Cook's arrival at Nootka in 1778. However, this was no isolated happening, but rather the culmination of centuries of speculation on the existence of a Northwest Passage, half a century of exploration by the Russians and the Spaniards, and a series of overland journeys which sought the same objectives in a different way. The earlier land explorations (such as Alexander Henry's) did not reach our region, but they did point the way westward and they did enlarge the experience of later travellers. Just as Cook's discoveries triggered the exploits of Meares, Portlock and Dixon, Vancouver, Gray and others, so did the journeys of Henry and Hearne help towards the achievements of Mackenzie, Thompson, Fraser, Simpson and their successors.

At the cost of mixing the chronology, let us take a quick look at the chief land explorers and the books they wrote, from Hearne right through to Simpson, and then return to the British sea voyages of the late eighteenth century. Samuel Hearne was a young Hudson's Bay Company man stationed at Prince of Wales's Fort on Hudson's Bay when the Company ordered him to test by land as to the possibility of a Northwest Passage and to check on Indian stories of copper mines in the far north. The experience gained in two unsuccessful attempts and forced returns in 1769-70 finally brought success. He had learned to live as the Indians lived and to travel as they travelled. In 1772 he reached the mouth of the Coppermine River and thus became the first man to reach the Arctic overland from the Bay.

Hearne did nothing about publishing his journal. In 1775, at the age of thirty, he became the Company's local governor at Churchill. Seven years later the famous French explorer and commander, La Perouse, captured the fort and took Hearne prisoner to France. He seized the journal too, as "lawful spoil." Hearne persuaded him to return it, but La Perouse had been so impressed that he made early publication a condition of its return. It was printed in 1795, three years after Hearne had died, under the editorship of John Douglas, Bishop of Salisbury. This amiable prelate had earlier exercised his lapidary talent on some of Cook's journals.

Hearne was one of the literary artists amongst the great explorers. His book, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean* (26) is a masterpiece of wilderness travel, remarkable alike for the story he tells and for the warmth and humanity with which he tells it. He was as interested in the by-products of his journey as in the journey itself, and we get the picture of a most engaging personality — brave but cautious, firm but tolerant, curious and kind.

The fine modern edition published by the Champlain Society was edited and annotated by J. B. Tyrrell, one of the outstanding geographers of recent times and for long the only man to have traversed the same route as Hearne. A complementary publication, with the same editor, is *Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor* (27), covering Hearne's other journeys and fur-trading activities.

Tyrrell also edited David Thompson's *Narrative of Explorations in Western America, 1784-1812* (66). He described Thompson as "the greatest practical land geographer that the world has produced." Certainly the man's range and energy were prodigious. He surveyed and mapped more than a million square miles of western Canada and what is now the United States, he was the first to explore the entire length of the Columbia from source to mouth (and the only one until M. J. Lorraine did it in 1919), and to this day his maps and charts are accepted as authoritative. He accepted and carried out punctiliously his routine duties as a fur-trader with the North West Company, but exploration was a consuming passion. Like Hearne, he wrote well. Intermingled with the exact topographical information in his narrative are many telling anecdotes, many attractive thumb-nail sketches of people, places and events. Dr. Bigsby of the International Boundary Commission, for which Thompson was the astronomer, said of him: "He can create a wilderness and people it with warring savages, or climb the Rocky Mountains with you in a snow-storm, so clearly and palpably that, only shut your eyes and you hear the crack of the rifle or feel the snowflakes on your cheeks as he talks." *

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*Quoted by J. B. Tyrrell in his "The Re-Discovery of David Thompson." (Transactions Royal Soc. of Canada, 3rd Ser., Vol. XXII, Sect. II, 1928. Pp. 233-248).

Further material from Thompson's journals is included in an interesting three-volume work edited by Elliott Coues, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest* (28). This comprises the journal of Alexander Henry, nephew of the earlier Alexander, with excerpts from Thompson used as notes to augment Henry's findings.

Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, the 22nd July One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety-Three

"Every schoolboy knows" (or at any rate every British Columbia schoolboy ought to know) of that inscription scrawled in vermilion and melted grease on a stone at Dean Channel, Bella Coola River. Now incised permanently into the rock, it was painted there by Alexander Mackenzie on the completion of his journey from Peace River to the Pacific coast, on foot or by canoe and portage.

This was the second major journey by the first man to cross the continent by land north of Mexico. Like Thompson, Mackenzie was a North West Company official whose explorations and activities should help (the Company hoped) to break the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly. His earlier voyage was made in June-September 1789, from Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabaska, down the river now called the Mackenzie, to the Arctic. But Mackenzie did not want the Arctic. He had thought that his course along the river would take him to the Pacific. Accordingly he planned another expedition, and on May 9, 1793, he and his nine companions set out from the forks of the Peace and Smoky Rivers. Despite dangers, hardships and near-mutinies they travelled with amazing speed via the Peace, the Parsnip, the Fraser, Blackwater and Bella Coola Rivers until they arrived at the coast on July 22nd. The return journey, relatively uneventful, took only 33 days.

Mackenzie issued the account of his travels in 1801 under the resounding title *Voyages from Montreal, on the River St. Laurence, Through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans* (42). His editor and polisher was William Combe, a journalist and minor poet who had done the same service for the narrative of John Meares in 1790. The first edition of Mackenzie is an attractive quarto volume which includes a long preliminary account of the operations of the North West Company, often omitted in later reprints but no great loss. By far the best modern edition is the one edited by Walter Sheppe, *First Man West* (42). Dr. Sheppe followed Mackenzie's route across Canada and gives notes on his own trek in 1959, as well as five excellent maps.

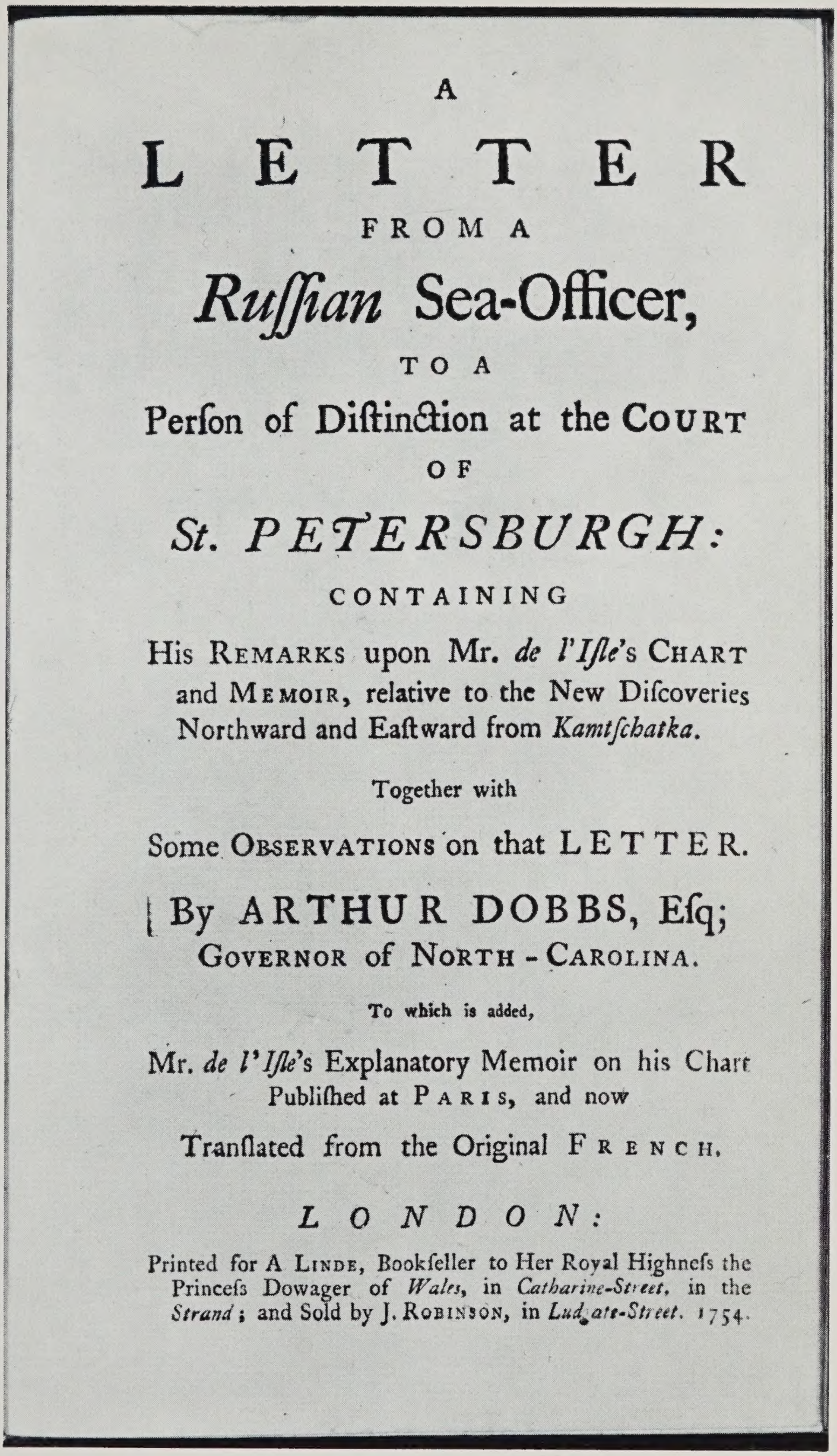
Mackenzie's book aroused immense interest all over Europe. According to Marshal Bernadotte, Napoleon read it in English and had it translated into French to help his plan for an attack on Canada through Louisiana. However, Mackenzie as a writer does not rank with Hearne or Thompson. He has little of their liveliness, their wide-ranging curiosity or their interest in human nature. A primrose by the river's brim would not even have been a yellow primrose to him: he would not have noticed it, but would have been concentrating fiercely on the business in hand and the business after that. His achievements were great, but his record of them has no inner glow.

Thompson may have been the greatest and Mackenzie one of the speediest of northwestern explorers, but the palm for courage must surely go to Simon Fraser. Few feats in the annals of discovery equal for sheer pluck and pertinacity the exploit of Fraser and his companions in navigating the Fraser River in 1808. In its upper reaches it was, and still is, a savage river, a constant challenge to nerve and sinew. From May to July Fraser and his party of twenty-three men fought their way by paddle or on foot, by rope-ladders and by line through rapids and round whirlpools, up precipices, alongside gorges, and over mountains.

When the North West Company sent Fraser on this expedition the Fraser was still thought to be the Columbia, and Fraser did not discover the error until he reached its mouth: at this very time Thompson was exploring the true Columbia. Incidentally, the names of the Fraser and Thompson rivers were not chosen by a geographic board to commemorate these two great men long after they were dead — Fraser named the Thompson River and Thompson named the Fraser River, a pleasing interchange of courtesies between colleagues.

Simon Fraser's original manuscript journal is one of the national treasures in the Toronto Public Library, and a copy of it was presented to Canada's national library at its opening last year. It was not until 1960 that a complete and definitive edition of his *Letters and Journals* (22) was published. Admirably edited by Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, its major interest lies in Fraser's day-by-day record of one of the most hazardous journeys ever undertaken.

Another swift and doughty traveller was Sir George Simpson, at first chief factor and from 1826 to his death the overseas governor



A

LETTER

FROM A

Ruſſian Sea-Officer,

TO A

Perſon of Diſtinction at the COURT

OF

St. PETERSBURGH:

CONTAINING

His REMARKS upon Mr. *de l'Iſle's* CHART
and MEMOIR, relative to the New Diſcoveries
Northward and Eaſtward from *Kamtſchatka.*

Together with

Some OBSERVATIONS on that LETTER.

By ARTHUR DOBBS, Eſq;
GOVERNOR of NORTH-CAROLINA.

To which is added,

Mr. *de l'Iſle's* Explanatory Memoir on his Chart
Publiſhed at PARIS, and now

Tranſlated from the Original FRENCH.

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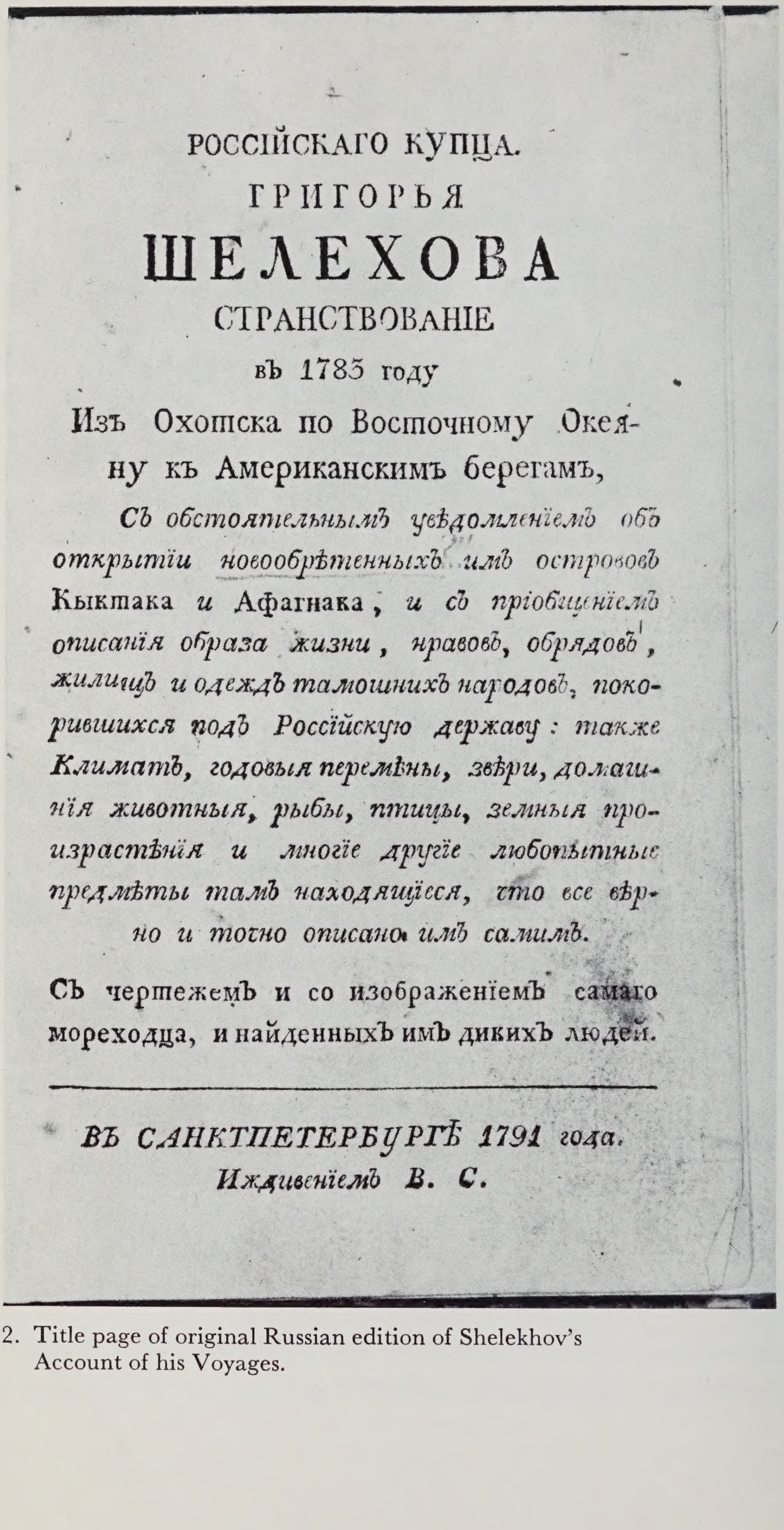
Printed for A LINDE, Bookſeller to Her Royal Highneſs the
Princeſs Dowager of *Wales*, in *Catharine-Street*, in the
Strand; and Sold by J. ROBINSON, in *Ludgate-Street*. 1754.

1. Muller's *Letter from a Russian Sea-Officer.*



РОССІЙСКАГО КУПЦА.

ГРИГОРЬЯ

ШЕЛЕХОВА

СТРАНСТВОВАНІЕ

въ 1783 году

Изъ Охотска по Восточному Океяну къ Американскимъ берегамъ,

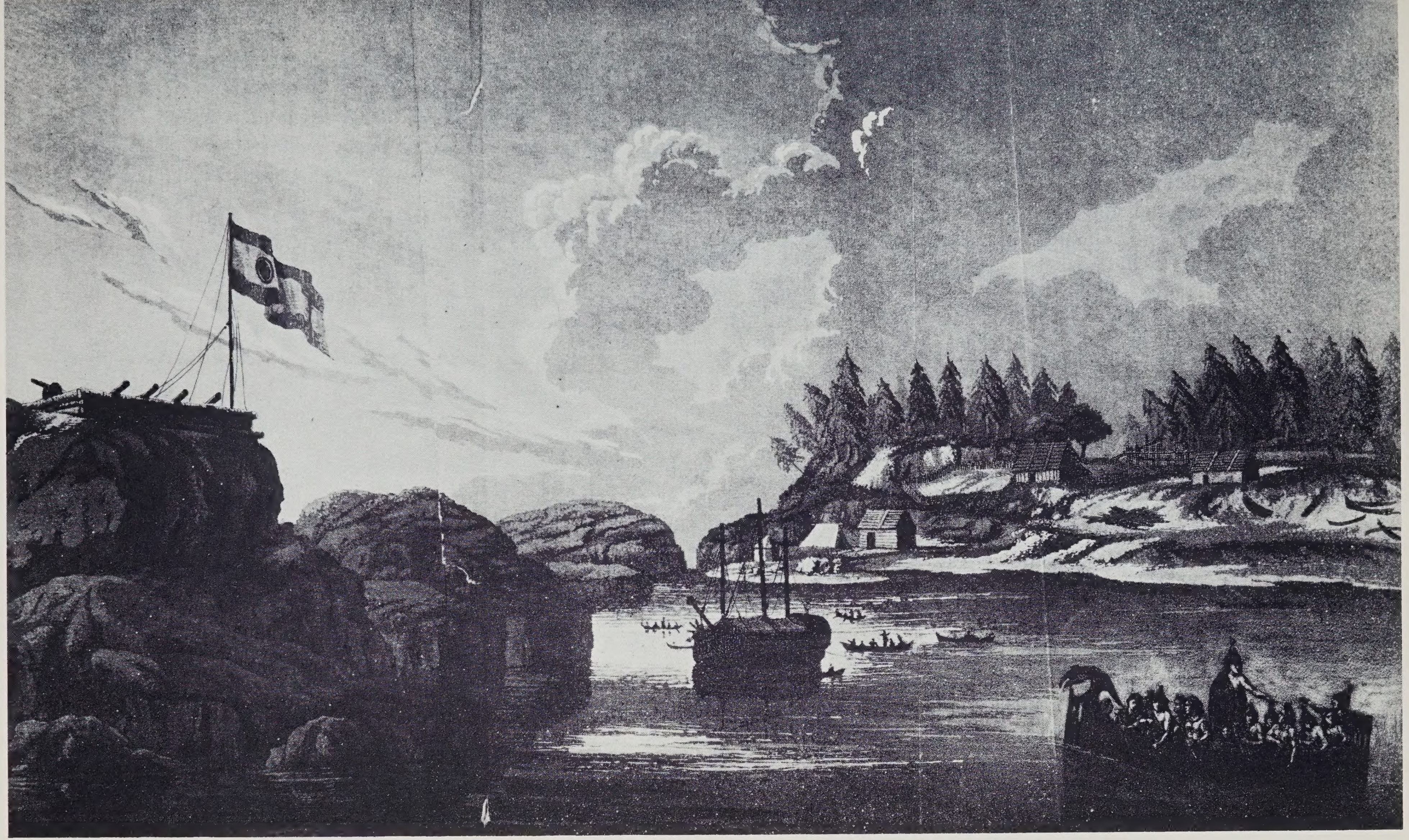
Съ обстоятельнымъ увѣдомленїемъ объ открытїи новообрѣтенныхъ имъ острововъ Кыктака *и* Афагнака, *и съ прїобщенїемъ описанїя образа жизни, нравовъ, обрядовъ, жилищъ и одеждъ тамошнихъ народовъ, покорившихся подъ Россїйскую державу: также Климатъ, годовыя перемѣны, звѣри, домашнїя животныя, рыбы, птицы, земныя произрастѣнїя и многїе другїе любопытные предмѣты тамъ находящїеся, что все вѣрно и точно описано имъ самимъ.*

СЪ чертежемЪ и со изображенїемЪ самаго мореходца, и найденныхЪ имЪ дикихЪ людей.

ВЪ САНКТПЕТЕРБУРГѢ 1791 года.

Иждивенїемъ В. С.

2. Title page of original Russian edition of Shelekhov's Account of his Voyages.



3. View of the Harbour at Nootka, from the Atlas to Espinosa y Tello's Voyage.

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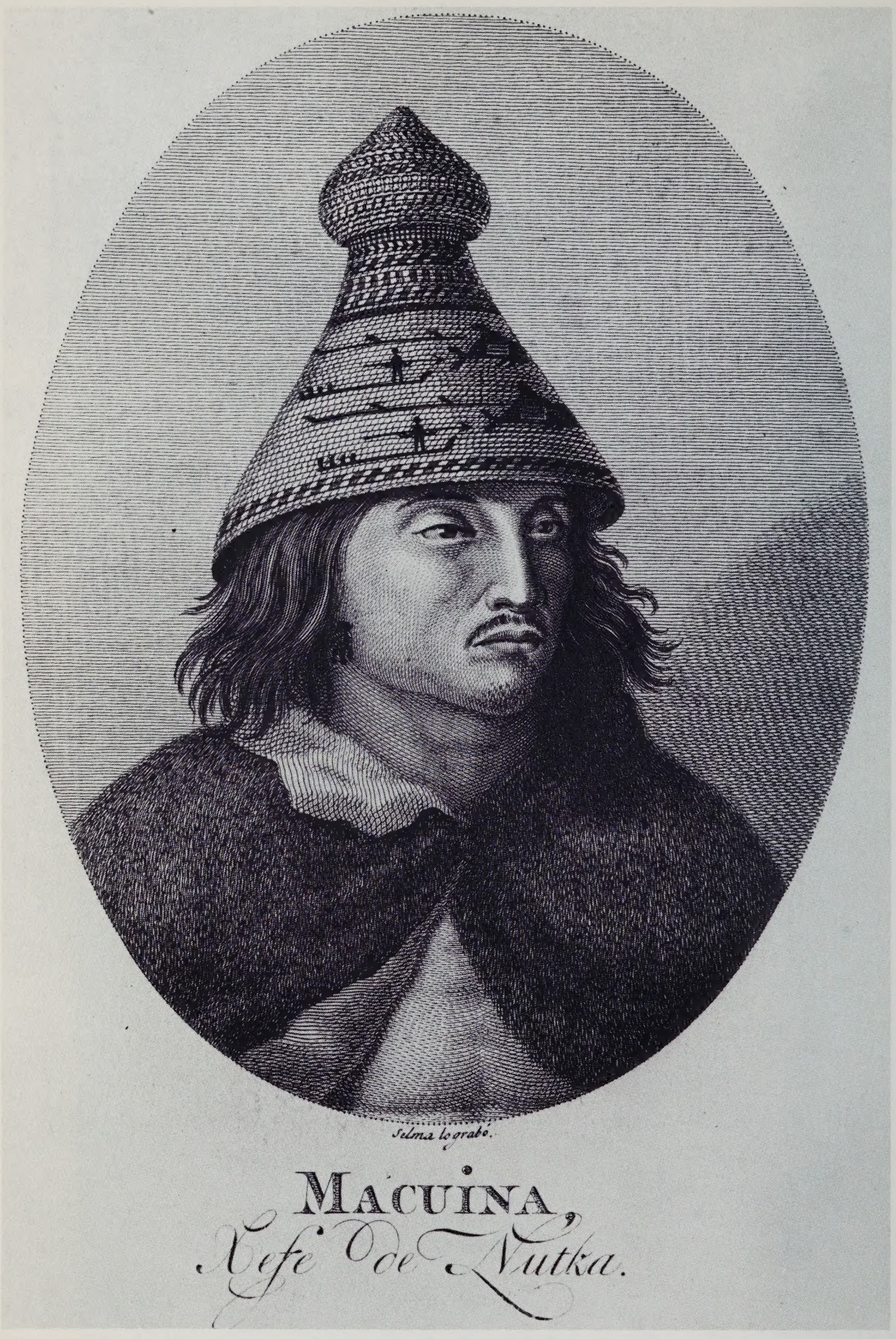
Selma lo grabó.
MACUINA,
Xefe de Nutka.

4. Portrait of Maquinna, Chief of the Nootkas, from the Atlas to Espinosa y Tello's Voyage.

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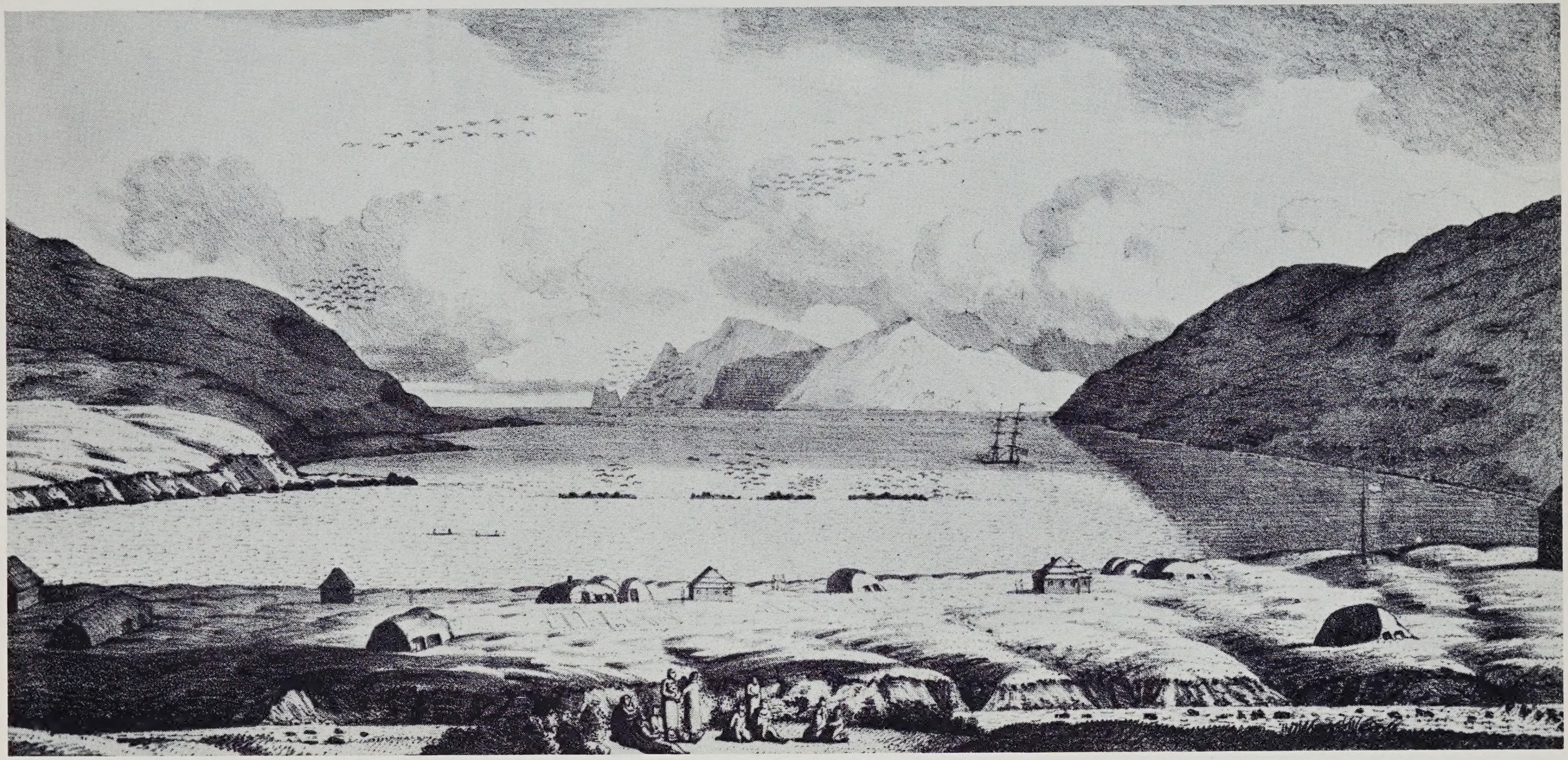

5. View of Unalaska from *Voyage Pittoresque Autour du Monde*, by Louis Choris.

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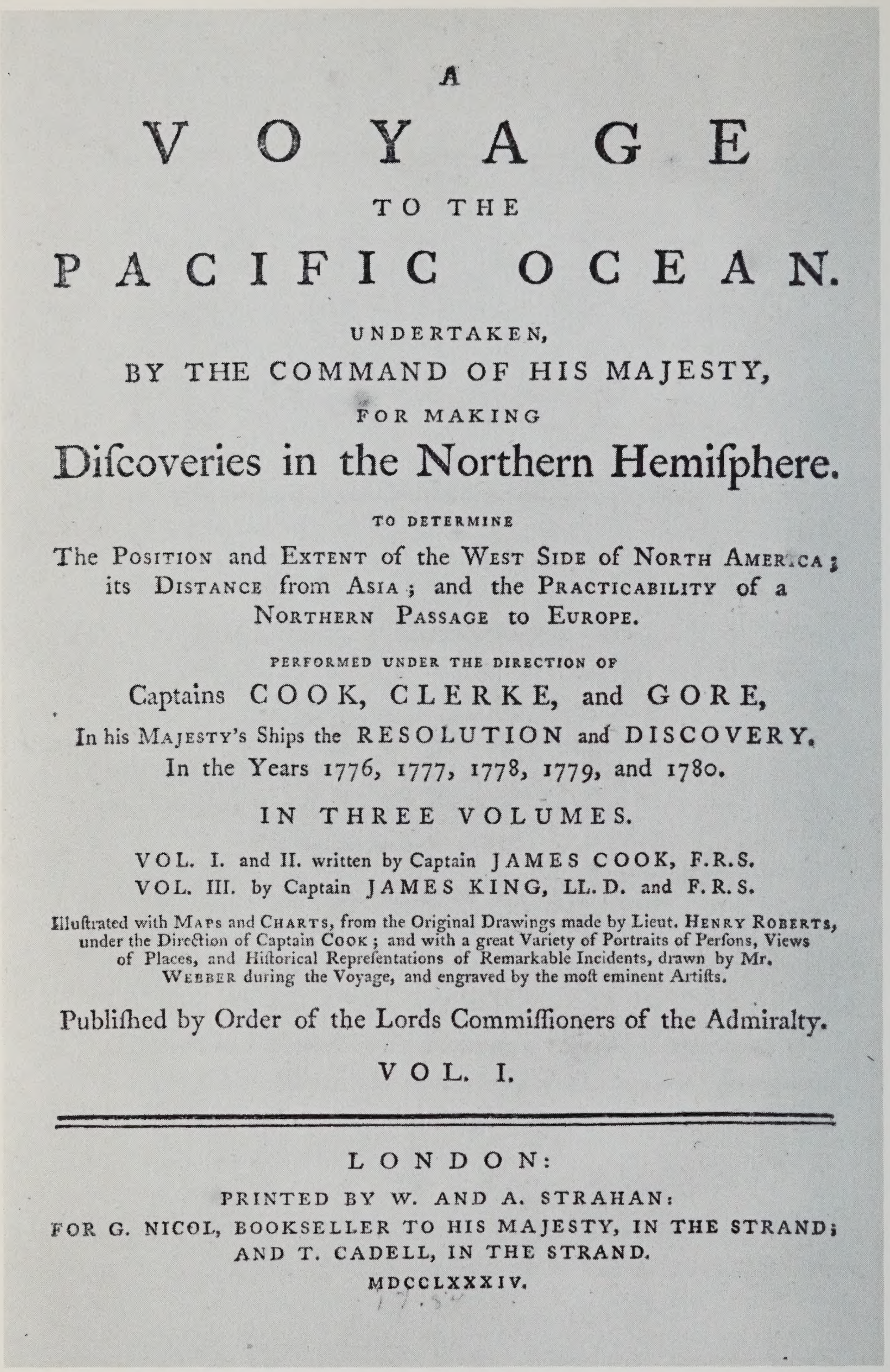

A

VOYAGE

TO THE

PACIFIC OCEAN.

UNDERTAKEN,

BY THE COMMAND OF HIS MAJESTY,

FOR MAKING

Diſcoveries in the Northern Hemiſphere.

TO DETERMINE

The Position and Extent of the West Side of North America;
its Distance from Asia; and the Practicability of a
Northern Passage to Europe.

PERFORMED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

Captains COOK, CLERKE, and GORE,
In his Majesty's Ships the RESOLUTION and DISCOVERY.
In the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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Webber during the Voyage, and engraved by the moſt eminent Artiſts.

Publiſhed by Order of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty.

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FOR G. NICOL, BOOKSELLER TO HIS MAJESTY, IN THE STRAND;
AND T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.
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6. Official Account of Cook's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean.
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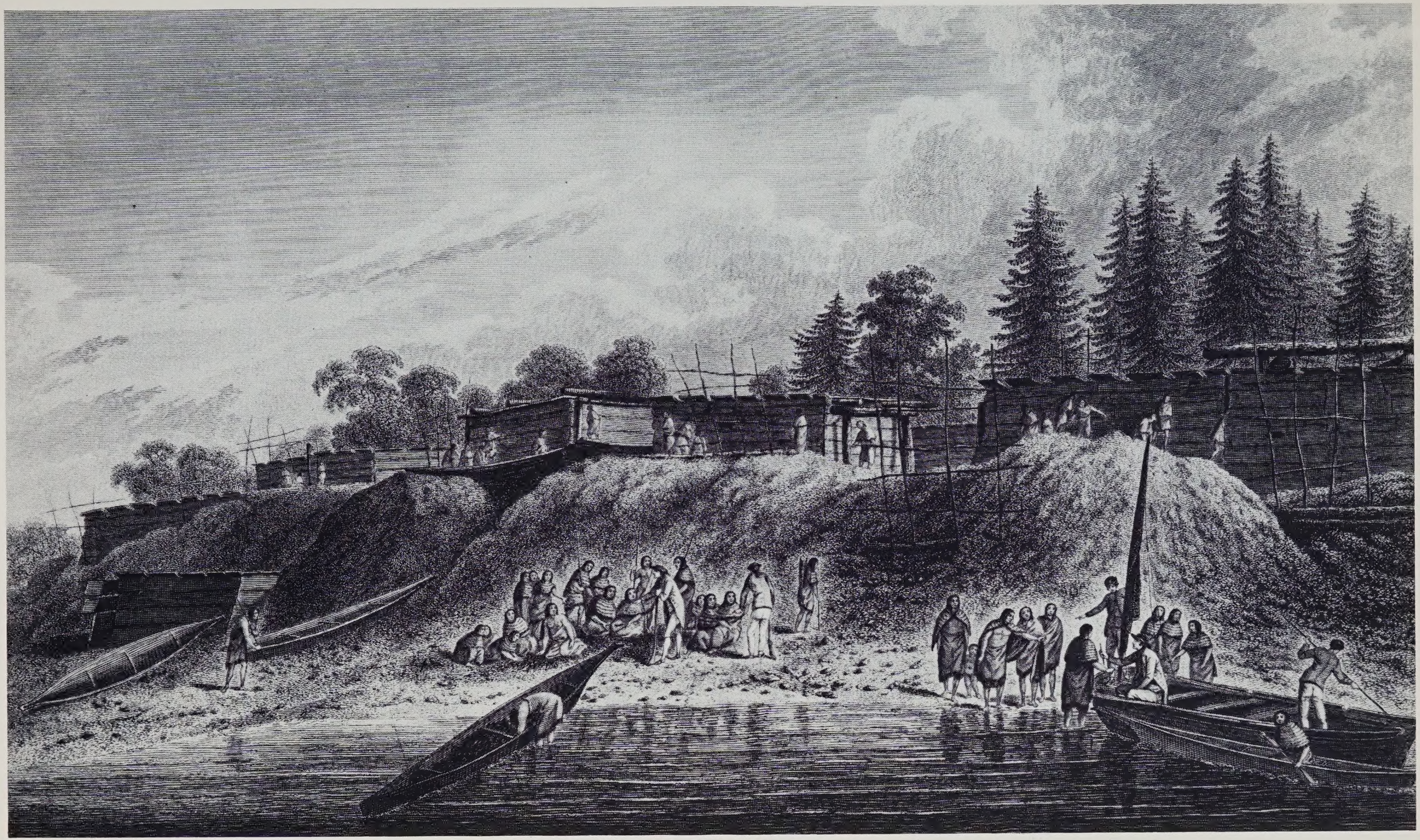

7. View of Habitations at Nootka Sound, from the Atlas to Cook's Voyages.

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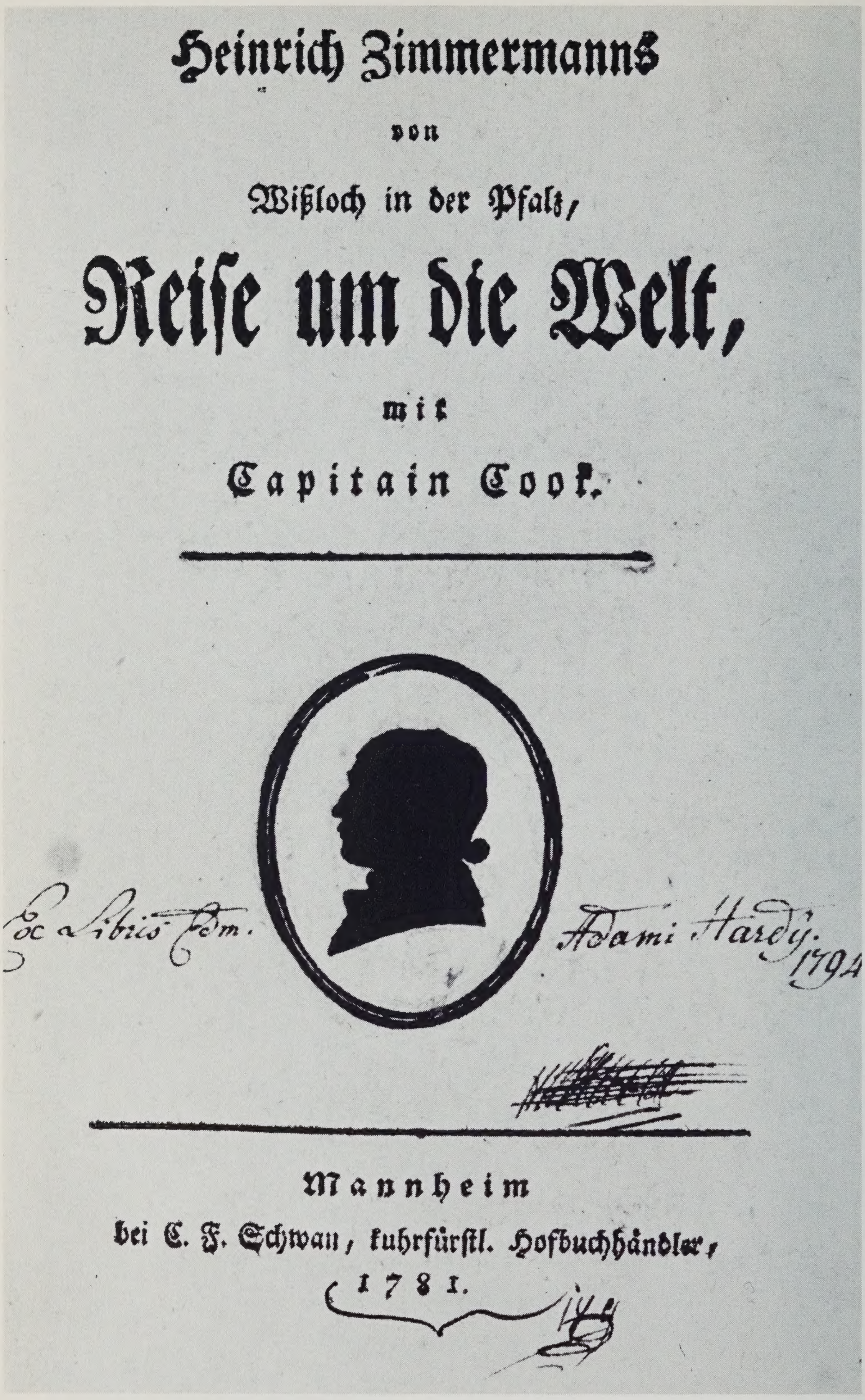

Heinrich Zimmermanns
von
Wißloch in der Pfalz,
Reiſe um die Welt,
mit
Capitain Cook.

Ex Libris Edm. Adami Hardy. 1794

Mannheim
bei C. F. Schwan, kuhrfürſtl. Hofbuchhändler,
1781.

8. Zimmermann's Narrative of Cook's Last Voyage.
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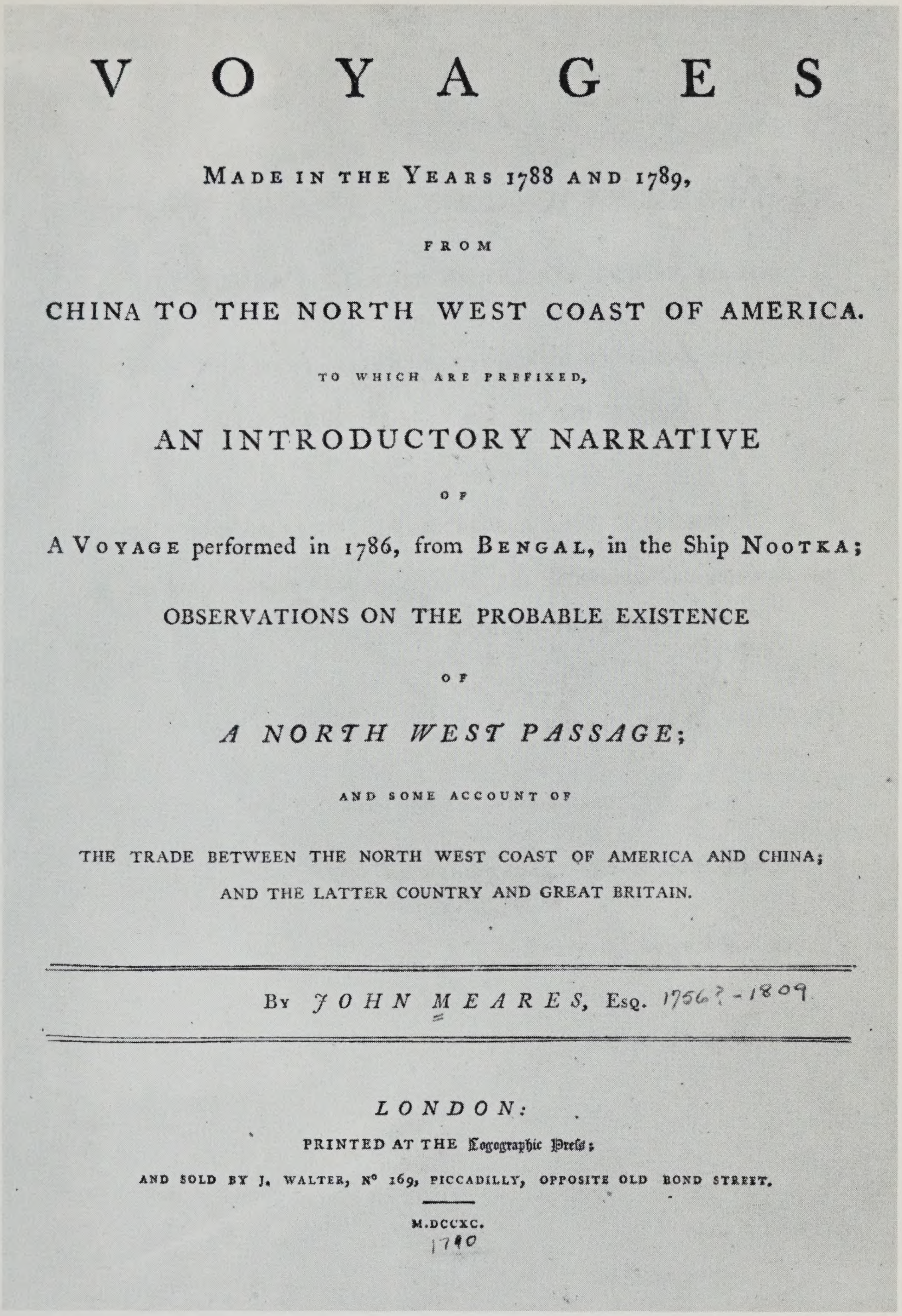

VOYAGES

MADE IN THE YEARS 1788 AND 1789,

FROM

CHINA TO THE NORTH WEST COAST OF AMERICA.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

AN INTRODUCTORY NARRATIVE

OF

A VOYAGE performed in 1786, from BENGAL, in the Ship NOOTKA;

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROBABLE EXISTENCE

OF

A NORTH WEST PASSAGE;

AND SOME ACCOUNT OF

THE TRADE BETWEEN THE NORTH WEST COAST OF AMERICA AND CHINA;
AND THE LATTER COUNTRY AND GREAT BRITAIN.

By *JOHN MEARES*, Esq. 1756? - 1809

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AND SOLD BY J. WALTER, Nº 169, PICCADILLY, OPPOSITE OLD BOND STREET.

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1790

9. Voyages by John Meares.

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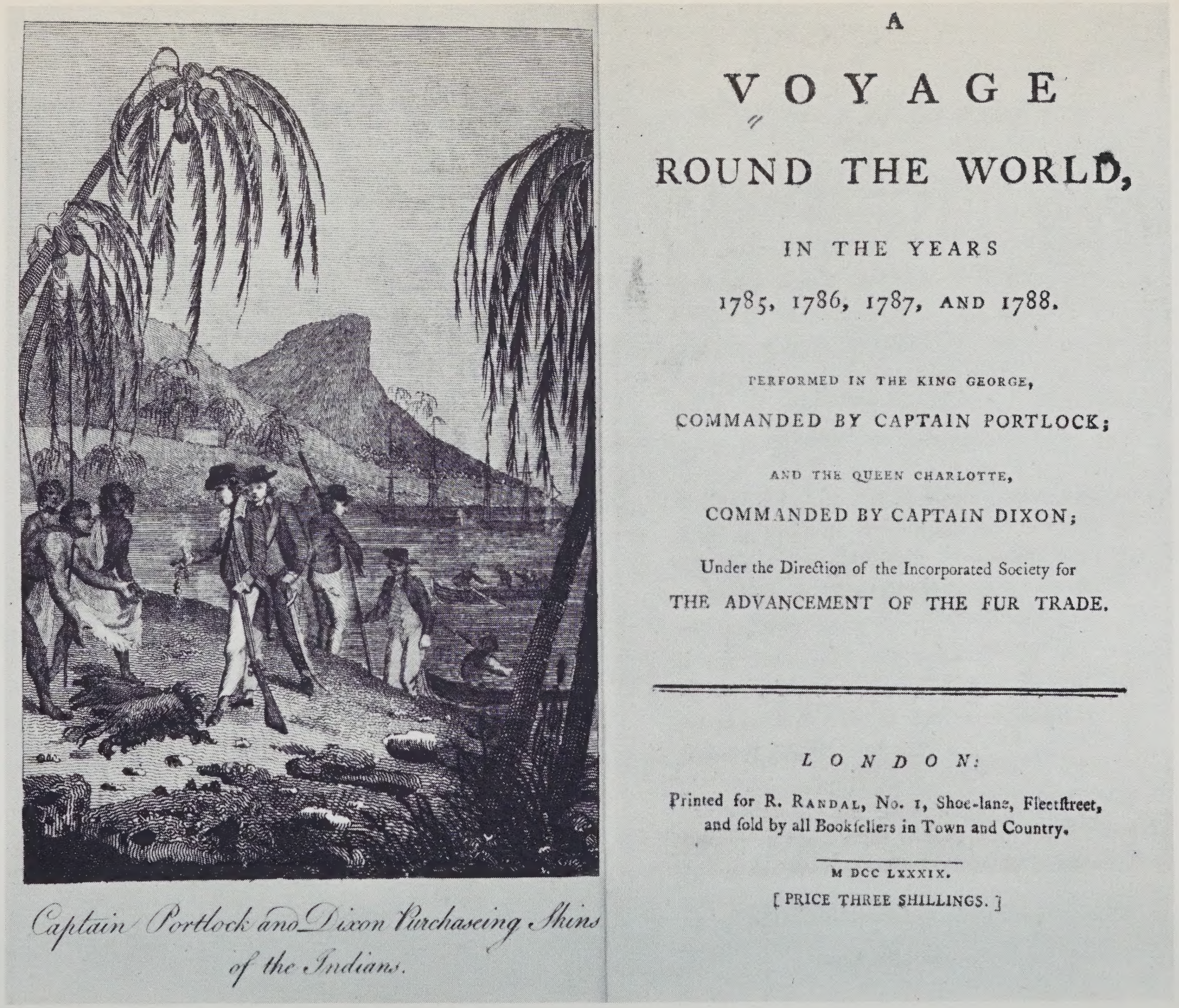

Captain Portlock and Dixon Purchaseing Skins of the Indians.

A

VOYAGE

ROUND THE WORLD,

IN THE YEARS

1785, 1786, 1787, AND 1788.

PERFORMED IN THE KING GEORGE,

COMMANDED BY CAPTAIN PORTLOCK;

AND THE QUEEN CHARLOTTE,

COMMANDED BY CAPTAIN DIXON;

Under the Direction of the Incorporated Society for

THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE FUR TRADE.

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M DCC LXXXIX.

[PRICE THREE SHILLINGS.]

10. Frontispiece and title page of "C.L."'s Account of the Portlock and Dixon Voyage.

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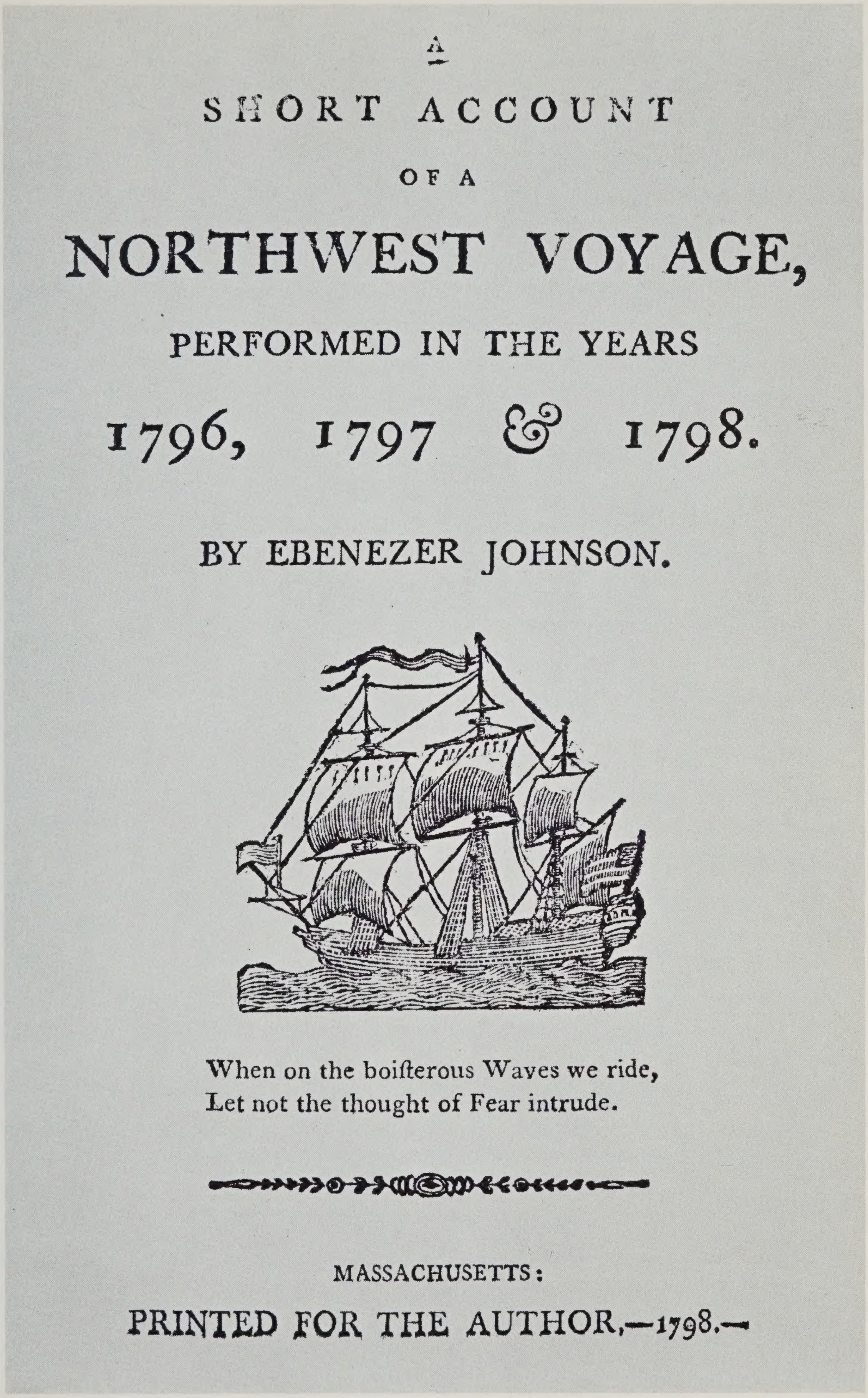


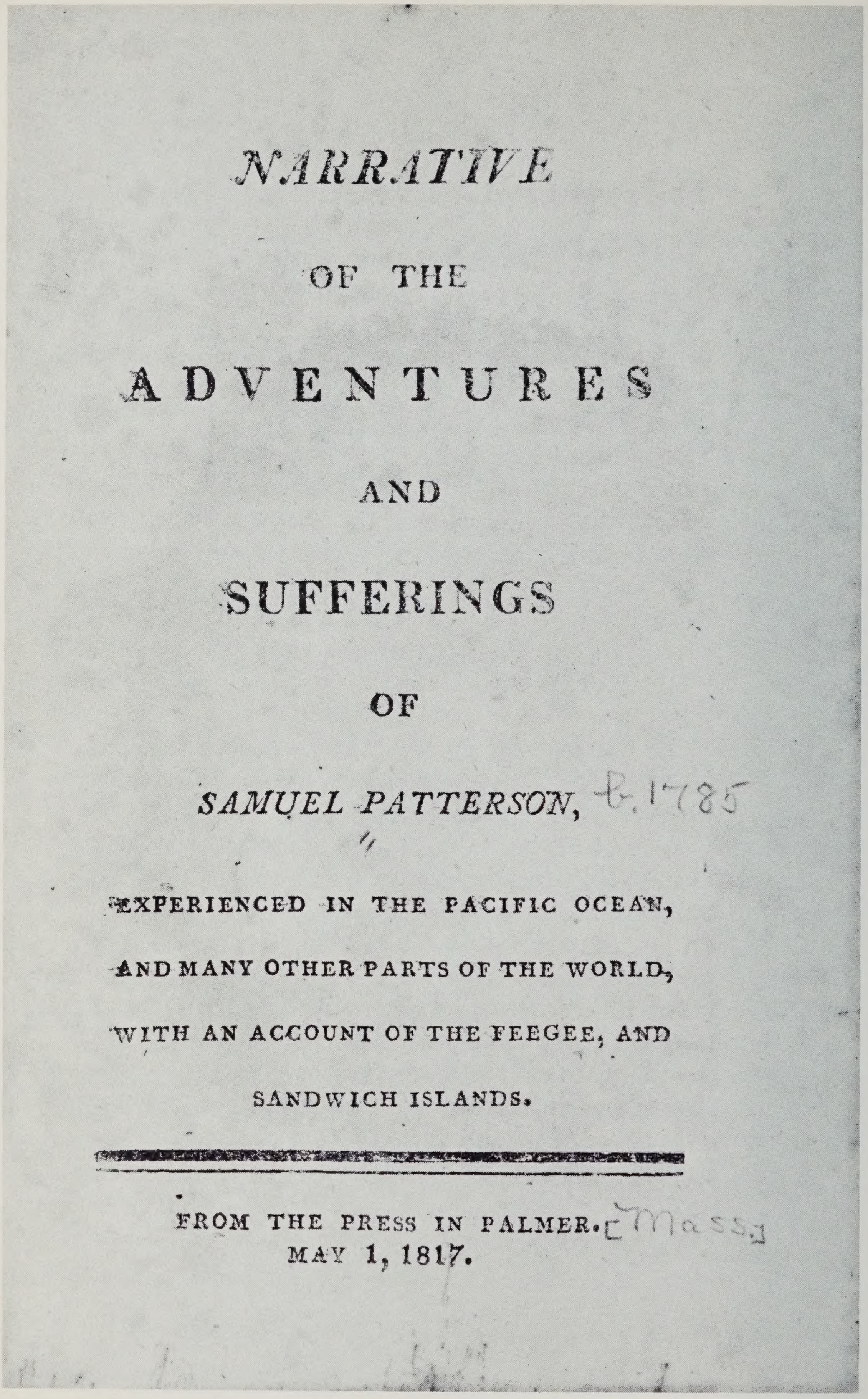
A
SHORT ACCOUNT
OF A
NORTHWEST VOYAGE,
PERFORMED IN THE YEARS
1796, 1797 & 1798.

BY EBENEZER JOHNSON.

When on the boiſterous Waves we ride,
Let not the thought of Fear intrude.

MASSACHUSETTS:
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,—1798.—

11. Ebenezer Johnson's Voyage.



NARRATIVE

OF THE

ADVENTURES

AND

SUFFERINGS

OF

SAMUEL PATTERSON, b. 1785

EXPERIENCED IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN,

AND MANY OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD,

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE FEEGEE, AND

SANDWICH ISLANDS.

FROM THE PRESS IN PALMER. [Mass.]
MAY 1, 1817.

12. Samuel Patterson's Narrative.

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of the Hudson's Bay Company, administering a domain which stretched from the Great Lakes to the Pacific and from the Arctic to the American border and beyond. On the long and arduous inspection journeys he made to acquaint himself with the geography of this vast region and to prospect for the best trade routes through it, he travelled with amazing speed, and, as befitted a governor, with some pomp and circumstance. Were he travelling today, it would be a pretty point whether the income tax authorities would allow as a deductible expense the maintenance of the highland piper who often accompanied the exploring party.

From his books and from the official records, one might well picture Simpson as a big, strapping, swashbuckling leader of the Viking stamp. In fact he was a short, compact, forcible redhead whose bark was as bad as his bite. However, he expressed himself less vehemently in person than in his writing; otherwise he could not have survived long in the tough world of the early fur-trade. After fifty years of intense rivalry and bitter feuding the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company had merged in 1821. It was his task to weld the two into a smooth-working and profitable unity.

The perseverance, skill and subtlety with which he did this emerge clearly from his own records. The first of his journals and reports was *Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department* (61). Extremely interesting in itself, this publication of the Champlain Society also has an invaluable biographical appendix which is a veritable Who's Who of contemporary fur-traders and explorers. The journal of his 1824-25 journey from York Factory to the Columbia and back, edited by Frederick Merk, was published as *Fur Trade and Empire* (60). In direct and pungent style Simpson describes the journey, discourses on the fur trade itself, and gives masterly assessments of other prominent people connected with it.

In 1828 Simpson made a second journey to the Columbia by a longer route, by way of the Thompson and Fraser rivers. It was the longest voyage ever undertaken in one season in North America up to that time. His narrative appeared under the rather uninviting title *Part of Dispatch . . . to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company* (62). It is a fascinating book, full of good things and showing in equal measure Simpson's narrative ability and literary skill. One of his companions for part of the journey, Archibald McDonald, wrote a book describing the canoe voyage from York Factory to Fort Langley in British Columbia. It is *Peace*

River (41) and in the words of its editor, one of the objects of its publication as late as 1872 was "to draw attention to the potentialities of the Peace River Country, and the suitability of the Peace River Pass for the proposed Canadian Pacific Railway." Thus the early labours of the foot-slogger and the voyageur were turned to the purposes of the more modern age.

With Simpson's consolidation of the Hudson's Bay Company and the extension of its activities until its tentacles reached from coast to coast, we are well into the nineteenth century and a different era of exploration and discovery. So we leave the mainland, hark back some fifty years, and take to the sea again.

* * *

In 1775, still nursing the dream of a Northwest Passage and also prompted to action by news of renewed Spanish activity on the Pacific coast of North America, the British government decided to mount a voyage of exploration to the northwest. Captain Cook was chosen to lead it. He was, by virtue of his two earlier expeditions and his remarkable additions to man's store of geographical knowledge, the most famous navigator of the day. The widespread interest in this new project was typified by Boswell, who after meeting Cook several times, told Dr. Johnson that he "felt a strong inclination to go with him on his next voyage." With some lack of his usual wisdom Johnson replied "How little is left now for any man to discover, even on such a voyage."

On July 12, 1776, the week after the American colonies had declared their independence, Cook set sail from Plymouth on the *Resolution* (462 tons) with a smaller ship, the *Discovery* (300 tons), commanded by Captain Clerke. What cockleshells these were by modern standards! The *Discovery* had a lower-deck length of about ninety feet, her extreme breadth was 27 feet 5 inches, and the height between decks varied from 5 feet 7 inches to six feet. For three years this was the home and the workshop of more than 100 men.

After rounding the Horn the explorers discovered the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands early in 1778, rested there for a time, and set off for the northwest coast. They sighted and named Cape Flattery and late in March came to anchor at Friendly Cove in Nootka Sound, on the west coast of Vancouver Island. Here Cook stayed for a month, refitting, making observations, and trading with the Indians. This was the first contact with white men by the Nootka tribe. Encouraged by their chief, Maquinna, they were soon on the best of terms with the visitors. As in all his dealings with native peoples, Cook was scrupulous in respecting their sovereign rights and in insisting that his own men behave as guests and not as conquerors.

From Nootka the expedition sailed north via Prince William Sound and Bering Sea to 70° north latitude, whence they were forced by the ice to return southward. They wintered at Hawaii and it was here that Cook met his untimely death because of a momentary and uncharacteristic error of judgment during a skirmish with some natives bent on thieving. With Clerke in command the expedition returned to the north to complete its explorations. Tragedy struck again, when Clerke died of consumption at Kamchatka and was buried there. For the journey home King took over the *Discovery* and Lieut. Charles Gore the *Resolution.*

On this voyage Cook explored the northwest coast from the 44th to the 70th parallel and carried out the first expert examination of Canada's Pacific coast; his discoveries around Nootka opened that harbour to international trade for many years to come; his account of the voyage stimulated governments, geographers and merchants everywhere to new or renewed activity in the whole region. He had established the basic contours of northwestern geography and it would be the task of his successors to fill in the details. One of the greatest of all the navigators, his early death was an incalculable loss to his country and the world.

Cook's official account of the voyage, completed by James King and edited by Bishop Douglas, appeared in 1784 as *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (12). It was in three attractive quarto volumes accompanied by a folio atlas of charts and plates (illustrations number 6 and 7). The demand was such that a four-volume octavo edition in London and a three-volume edition in Dublin were published the same year, and two new editions in the original format in 1785. Innumerable full or abridged editions have been published ever since, as well as innumerable books about Cook and his achievements. The standard bibliography, Sir Maurice Holme's *Captain James Cook: a Bibliographical Excursion* (London, 1952) is a substantial volume in itself, and also a fascinating one.

However Cook was not well served by his editors until Dr. J. C. Beaglehole and his associates produced, under the auspices of the Hakluyt Society, a superb definitive edition of all of the Voyages, printed just as Cook wrote them and not as his earlier editors had seen fit to present him. The two volumes, entitled *The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery, 1776-1780* (12) have about 1,800 pages of text, 78 plates and 15 maps. As well as the journals they include a masterly introduction, explanatory and bibliographical notes, the journals of Anderson and Samwell here printed in full for the first time, extracts from journals kept by other officers on the expedition, nominal rolls of the ships' companies, and other supplementary material. Like the other volumes in the series, they are a triumph of creative scholarship.

Before the voyage began the British Admiralty had issued strict orders that no account of it was to be issued before the official record appeared and that any private logs or journals were to be surrendered. Nevertheless, some of Cook's officers and men jumped the gun. The first was John Rickman, who served on both ships and whose anonymously published *Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage* (54) anticipated the official account by three years. It is of lasting interest as a personal narrative untrammelled by the considerations of policy and protocol which no official account can quite escape. Two London editions and a pirated Dublin edition appeared in 1781, and it was translated into French the following year.

One of the scarcest and most attractive of the unauthorized accounts was written by Heinrich Zimmermann, coxswain in the *Discovery.* It is *Reise um die Welt, mit Captain Cook* (74). (Illustration number 8.) It was first published in 1781, but with no English translation until 1926, followed by F. W. Howay's admirable edition in 1930. Although the narrative is sometimes inaccurate, Zimmermann wrote with a freshness and charm which set his book on a higher level than the other accounts. He was a keen judge of character, and his assessment of Cook as man and as commander is outstanding.

An American adventurer, John Ledyard, was a Corporal of Marines on the expedition and he, too, published his own account, under the same title as Rickman's, *Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage* (39). As well as the title, he lifted much of Rickman's material, for large sections of the book are straight copying. But there is enough original material to reward the reader. The modern reprint edited by J. K. Munford (39) has a long and excellent introduction, ample notes,, a map and illustrations, and a six-page bibliography. It is a model of what such a reprint should offer.

Seven years passed before another European vessel reached the

Nootka region. In 1785 Captain Hanna arrived from China and ran a successful trading expedition, returning the next year. There is no complete contemporary record of his voyages, but he is mentioned by several other navigators of the time.

The first fur-trading voyage of which an adequate record survives was the one led by James Strange from Bombay, on the *Captain Cook* and the *Experiment*, reaching Nootka in June 1786. Strange was a godson of the Young Chevalier ("Bonnie Prince Charlie") and something of the same melancholy spirit that haunted his godfather's life seems to have haunted his. Not well equipped by experience or temperament to handle such an expedition, he had to contend with bad weather, sickness amongst the crews, and the greater know-how of rival traders who soon appeared on the scene. Although his voyage was a commercial failure, it was a success in other ways, and his account is very well written. It was resurrected from the Indian Archives and published in Madras in 1928 as *Journal and Narrative of the Commercial Expedition from Bombay* (64).

The next expedition was led by two officers who had served with Cook in the *Resolution*, Nathaniel Portlock and George Dixon. They were working for a group of British merchants called the King George's Sound Company and set sail from England in the *King George* and the *Queen Charlotte* in August 1785. After a year or so of joint exploration in the far northwest the two commanders set off on different courses — Portlock to the Alaskan coast and Dixon southward. Dixon passed and named several points which, unknown to him, La Perouse had already named. However, he did "discover" and name the Queen Charlotte Islands, which he explored more thoroughly than any earlier navigator. Both explorers made new discoveries and helped to round off the pioneer work of Cook and his predecessors. They also made a lot of money for their sponsors when they reached China with a fine cargo of furs.

Each commander produced his own book, but under the same title, *A Voyage Round the World, But More Particularly to the North West Coast* (16 and 52). Portlock wrote his own account, but Dixon's, by far the livelier of the two, was largely ghost-written by William Beresford, supercargo on the Queen Charlotte. As well as the ordinary edition of Dixon, there were a few copies printed on larger and thicker paper, with the natural history plates attractively hand coloured.

A detailed and interesting private journal of the expedition was published anonymously in 1789 over the initials C.L. Only two copies (Yale University and New York Public Library), are known to have survived in North America of this octavo book of 151 pages, *A Voyage Round the World in the Years 1785-1788* (36: see illustration number 10). Here is a golden opportunity for one of the reprint publishers.

Last to arrive in 1786 was John Meares from Bombay, commanding the ships *Felice Adventurer* and *Iphigenia.* During his service in the Royal Navy Meares was technically an officer and a gentleman, but when he went into business for himself he found the transition to ex-officer and ex-gentleman remarkably easy. Meares might well have been the prototype of Hilaire Belloc's Commander Sin in *The Modern Traveller*:

> Lazy, and something of a liar,
> He had a foolish way
> Of always swearing (more or less);
> And lastly, let us say
> A little slovenly in dress,
> A trifle prone to drunkenness,
> A gambler also to excess.

Scallawag though he was, Meares became a major figure in the northwestern seascape. A partner in the newly organized Bengal Fur Company, he sailed from India with two ships, the *Nootka* and the *Sea Otter*, traded in Alaskan waters, and wintered in Prince William Sound. In May 1787 Portlock and Dixon found him there with his ships iced in, a score of the crew dead from drink or scurvy or a combination of the two, and the survivors half starved. In return for food and assistance Meares promised to start immediately for China, but he broke his bond and resumed his illicit trading. The *Sea Otter* was wrecked after the ships left harbour.

Subsequently Meares sold the remaining ship and joined forces with other merchants trading out of China. In company with Captains James Colnett and William Douglas he aimed to establish a permanent base at Nootka. With two new ships, the *Iphigenia* and the *Princess Royal*, both sailing with Portugese papers to evade the British monopoly, they developed a sizeable business. The *Argonaut* was added to the fleet later, and Meares built at Nootka a 40-ton schooner, the *North West America*, which was the first ship to be launched into British Columbia waters. He also built a house, in effect a small fortress: then, in September of 1788 he set sail for

Canton, whence Colnett departed to join Douglas at Nootka, carry on with the fur-trading expeditions, and expand the construction programme there.

Meantime, however, the Spaniards were becoming uneasy about the situation in the northwest, especially the rumour that the Russians were planning to occupy Nootka in order to forestall a British occupation. So, while Colnett was beating across the Pacific, Martinez was beating up-coast from San Blas, with the men and materials to establish at Nootka a fortified military post, a garrison, and the beginnings of a permanent settlement. He found the place buzzing with activity. As well as the Meares vessels, American ships were in the neighbourhood, including the *Columbia.* He took no action against the Americans, but seized the *Iphigenia* (later released to China) and the *North West America,* which was rechristened and taken into service for Spain.

On his arrival in July Colnett claimed that he came with the authority of the King of England to take possession of Nootka Sound and with the instructions of his associates to construct a fort and a factory and plant a colony. This was too much for Martinez, who arrested Colnett and his crew and seized the *Argonaut* with its cargo. When the *Princess Royal* returned to harbour he seized her too, and sent both ships to San Blas as prizes. Thus began the Nootka Sound controversy, which ended in Spain releasing the prisoners, returning the seized ships, paying compensation, and finally withdrawing altogether from the region. When Meares included in his *Memorial* to the British government claims far in excess of his real losses, this was too much for Captain Dixon. An honourable man, with previous experience of Meares's perfidy, he launched a fierce pamphlet-war. Despite Dixon's revelations, Meares and his associates came through both controversies richer by some $200,000.

In his account of these voyages and happenings, *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789* (45: see illustration number 9). Meares speaks with the voice of the promoter, intent on vindicating his own conduct and boosting his own discoveries. However, he was also an interesting and perceptive chronicler of events, who told his story with gusto. As well as his own narrative the book includes Douglas's journal on board the *Iphigenia,* Robert Duffin's journal of explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca, the Meares Memorial to Parliament, and a large number of fine engraved plates and maps.

Colnett told his story in *A Voyage to the South Atlantic Ocean* (11) and in 1935 there was accidentally discovered in London the manuscript of a further narrative. Edited by F. W. Howay, it was published in 1940 as *Journal Aboard the Argonaut* (10). This admirable edition in the Champlain Society series includes part of the Martinez journal of events, and the complementary material by the editor is valuable and interesting.

A rather out-of-the-way narrative of this period is Lieutenant George Mortimer's account of an expedition in 1789 by Captain John Cox, commanding the *Mercury*. His *Observations and Remarks* (47) includes an account of the neat way in which Cox sidestepped a trap laid by the Russians at Unalaska to capture his ship and crew. There are also many references to Captain Cook's doings.

After Great Britain and Spain had signed the Treaty of Nootka in 1790, the British Admiralty amended the plans it had already made to send out a naval expedition to round off the work of Cook and to provide the final answer to the problem of a northwest passage. Now the man they needed must be not only an expert navigator but also one of diplomatic prowess who could negotiate a satisfactory settlement with the Spaniards. Their choice was the youthful Captain George Vancouver, who had sailed with Cook on his first and third voyages and served under Rodney in the West Indies.

Thus was born the longest survey-voyage in the world's history, April 1, 1791 to October 17, 1795. Vancouver's two ships were the *Discovery*, a fully rigged 340-ton sloop of war with about 100 men, and the *Chatham*, commanded by Lieutenant Broughton. It was a 135-ton armed tender, with a crew of 54. Reaching the American coast in April 1792 the explorers spent several months charting the southern coastline of British Columbia — partly in company with the Galiano-Valdes expedition — then headed for Nootka for the meeting with the Spanish emissary, Bodega y Quadra. Although their negotiations ended in deadlock, the two commanders became close friends, and there was much mutual entertaining on a grand scale. After several pleasant weeks they agreed to refer back to their governments for further instructions.

Vancouver sent Broughton back to England with his despatches and then sailed south to winter in the Sandwich Islands. On the way home Broughton made a 100-mile survey of the Columbia River, which Captain Robert Gray had discovered and entered a few months before, and took possession for Britain. Decades later Britain based her claim to Oregon on Meares's discoveries and, more reliably, on Broughton's.

For the next two years Vancouver continued the pattern of exploring during the favourable months and wintering in the south. After reaching home with his tremendous task completed successfully, he spent two years preparing his journals for publication, and then died at the age of forty before they were even through the press. It fell to his brother to complete the details. Published in three quarto volumes accompanied by a great folio atlas of maps, charts and plates, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean* (68) ranks with Cook's narrative as a classic of northwestern exploration.

The original edition will always be the most highly prized, but the second edition has much to commend it too. It was published in six octavo volumes in 1801, with the text somewhat corrected and revised, and the maps and plates re-engraved.

In recent years two collateral journals on parts of Vancouver's expedition came to light. The first was by one of Broughton's crew on the *Chatham*, Edward Bell, published as a 43-page pamphlet, *A New Vancouver Journal on the Discovery of Puget Sound* (3). The other was by Archibald Menzies, surgeon and naturalist, *Journal of Vancouver's Voyage, April-October 1792* (46). Although Menzies covers only a small segment of the expedition, his journal is very well written and of particular interest to southern British Columbians.

After delivering Vancouver's despatches to the Admiralty, Broughton was given command of the *Providence*, Captain Bligh's old ship, and sailed to rejoin Vancouver with that ship and a small auxiliary tender. His route took him via Rio de Janiero, Australia, Tahiti and Hawaii to Nootka Sound. Vancouver had already departed, so Broughton set off for a detailed survey of the coast of Asia and the Japanese islands. This occupied several years; finally the *Providence* was lost off Formosa. The crew were all saved. These intrepid men continued their work from the tender, and returned home safely early in 1799.

In the course of his northwestern and Asiatic investigations Broughton solved a puzzle which La Perouse had first attempted, the relationship between the Aleutians, Japan and Korea. His account of this remarkable and hazardous voyage is *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean* (6).

While in the northwest Broughton fell in with a small British trading expedition led by Captain John Myers, commanding a 100-ton brig with a crew of sixteen. Myers was a thoughtful and observant man whose *Life, Voyages and Travels* (50) makes a refreshing change from the sometimes rather heavy-handed official narratives of the more prestigious expeditions. So does our final choice of the British narratives, Captain Charles Bishop's *Journal and Letters* (4). Based on manuscripts held by the B.C. Provincial Library and the Mitchell Library at Sydney, this engaging record of the northwest and the southern Pacific was published only last year. In the first part Bishop relates his fur-trading experiences on board the 100-ton *Ruby*, sailing from Bristol in 1794. He was a writer of some insight and quality who could tell a story well and was more deeply concerned with the human condition than most other men of his profession. In a long and excellent introduction the editor, Dr. Michael Roe, describes the journal, in words that could well be applied to many of the narratives we have been discussing, as "a minor epic of adventure, courage, and turbulent fortune."

III

The French Look In

From the day of Charlemagne to the day of De Gaulle the élite of France have been specially responsive to the tunes of glory: no wonder they chafed when the record of Spanish and British achievements in northwestern exploration became known. Despite the rumblings of revolution at home, the French government decided to mount an expedition on a grand scale. As commander they selected La Perouse, who had distinguished himself as leader of the squadron which attacked the British trading posts on Hudson's Bay in 1782, and where, as already narrated, he captured Samuel Hearne and his journals.

In 1785 La Perouse set out from Brest with two frigates, the *Boussole* and the *Astrolabe*, the latter commanded by de Langle. His instructions were to explore the regions not examined by Captain Cook, to make scientific observations and search for a northwest passage, to report on the Spanish settlements, and to survey the possibilities for French activity in the fur-trade and other lucrative fields. This was a heavy programme, which he proceeded to organize with great skill and to write about with great distinction.

Sailing via Cape Horn, Easter Island and Hawaii, La Perouse reached the northwest in 1786 and spent several months in exploring, searching vainly for the ever-elusive passage, and trading with the Indians and studying their languages and culture. After wintering at Monterey he returned to the north the following year. From Kamchatka he sent Baron de Lesseps back by way of Siberia and Russia to carry his despatches to the French government. In December 1787, the expedition suffered a grievous blow when de Langle and eleven crew-men of the *Astrolabe* were murdered by natives in the Samoan Islands.

From Samoa La Perouse sailed to Botany Bay, whence he sent a further instalment of his journals to Paris. After leaving Australia for the South Sea Islands in 1788, the expedition was never heard of again. It was not until 1825 that a Captain Dillon discovered the wreckage of the two ships on the reefs of Vanikoro, north of the New Hebrides. To this day nobody has been able to explain convincingly how or why complete disaster could overcome such a skilled and resourceful commander as La Perouse.

La Perouse had sailed from Royalist France, but it was the fifth year of the Republic before his journals were published, under the editorship of Milet-Mureau, in a superb set of four quarto volumes accompanied by a folio atlas of 69 maps and plates. *Voyage de La Perouse Autour du Monde* (38) is a splendid work both as to contents and appearance. The maps and plates in the atlas volume are beautifully engraved, combining boldness and subtlety to an extraordinary degree.

The author's fame as an explorer and his mysterious fate had set the English publishing world agog. Three different translations were produced during 1798-99, but the only edition comparable to the French original is the Robinson edition of 1799, in two quarto volumes and a folio atlas reproducing all of the 69 plates and maps. Of the two previous editions in octavo, Stockdale's in 1798 had only 51 maps and plates, Johnson's in the same year only 45.

The only French expedition sponsored by private enterprise was led by Etienne Marchand, sailing from Marseilles on *La Solide*, late in 1790, on a voyage of global circumnavigation and trading. He spent much time exploring around the Queen Charlotte Islands, studying the natives and their institutions: later authorities consider that his account of that region is more complete than that of Captain Dixon or any other navigator. Marchand did not see the results of his careful work in print, for in 1792 he died on a voyage to Mauritius. His papers were lost, but the voyage was recounted by a famous scientist and geographer, Count de Fleurieu, from the log of *La Solide* and from a diary kept by the second-in-command Chanal.

His narrative, *Voyage Autour du Monde* (21), is preceded by an admirable introduction of more than 100 pages on the earlier navigators to the North Pacific, from Drake to Malaspina. It is a thorough and scholarly piece of work which has earned the praise of notable historians and geographers. This essay is included in the English translation, but the valuable sections on natural history in the later volumes are omitted. The atlas issued with the translation has far fewer plates and maps than the original edition.

However much the French may have wished to pursue further the possibilities for commercial enterprise indicated by La Perouse and Marchand, they were so caught up in the turmoil of revolution and the Napoleonic wars that they had no heart for distant ventures. After Waterloo, Europe became more normal and in 1816 Lieutenant Camille de Roquefoil was appointed to lead a small expedition to the northwest and round the world "with a view not only to immediate trade, but to a prospective enlargement of national commerce." He sailed from Bordeaux on the *Bordelais*, with a total complement of thirty-seven, and arrived at Nootka in September 1817 — the first ship to pay a formal visit to that region since the massacre of the Boston's crew and the capture of John Jewitt, described in the next chapter.

Here he found Chief Maquinna still going strong and still anxious to trade; he pleased the old chief mightily by giving him a salute of seven guns and receiving him on board with full honours. The two men got on well together, and Roquefoil's comments on Maquinna and the Indian community are interesting. Of special interest is Maquinna's account of his dealings with John Meares. After a stay of several weeks, Roquefoil turned south to winter in California, returning the following year and pushing further north. At Sitka he joined in a fur-hunting expedition with the Russians, when the Kolosh fell upon the party and killed many of the Aleut hunters.

Roquefoil's *Journal d'un Voyage Autour du Monde* (55) appeared in 1823 in two substantial volumes. The only English edition available is a very much abridged version occupying only 112 pages and without the two maps. The German edition is much fuller, and it is surprising that no full translation into English has ever been made.

IV

The Americans Reach Out

Unlike the searfaring nations of Europe with an interest in the northwest, the United States sponsored no official expeditions during the early years of the fur trade. It was not until 1838, when the national Exploring Expedition set out under Charles Wilkes on a four-year circumnavigation, that the Americans mounted anything comparable to the *grands voyages* from Russia, Spain, Britain and France.

However, Cook's discoveries and reports, and especially John Ledyard's unauthorized account of Cook's last voyage, created such interest in New England that a group of Boston merchants decided to fit out a northwestern trading expedition. John Kendrick in command of the *Columbia Rediviva* (the *Columbia* for short) and Robert Gray with the *Lady Washington* (the *Washington* for short) sailed from Boston late in 1787, and made rendezvous at Nootka in September of the following year.

Here they found John Meares, who was getting ready to return to China. He gave them the red carpet treatment, had his boats tow them into the sound, and then did his utmost to dissuade them from trading in the area. Especially did he warn them against the dangers of wintering there. So, of course, they stayed, and were first in the field when trade reopened the following spring. In July Gray trans-shipped to the *Columbia* and sailed to China with a fine load of skins, thence home to Boston with a cargo of tea.

Kendrick also sailed to China with a similar load, but Boston never saw him again. He altered the rig of the *Washington* and used the disguised vessel to trade for the next five years to his personal profit. Little is known about his adventures and wanderings, but he met a gloriously ironical end when he was accidentally killed by a salvo from a British ship intent on saluting him.

Soon after reaching home, Gray fitted out the *Columbia* for another voyage and reached the coast in June 1791. After a profitable summer of trading and exploration, he wintered at Clayoquot

Sound. Sailing south in the Spring he discovered Gray's Harbour on May 7, 1792, and five days later entered the mouth of the great river which he explored for some twenty-five miles and named the Columbia, after his own ship.

Most of Gray's own logs and journals were lost, but excellent accounts of his expeditions by three men who served under him have survived. The journals of John Hoskins, John Boit and Robert Haswell are included in F. W. Howay's *Voyages of the Columbia to the North-West Coast* (30). It is a fascinating collection of material, with a fine, scholarly introduction and notes.

Gray must have gathered around him a group of men of unusual quality and the gift of self-expression. His Mate on the *Washington* was Joseph Ingraham who, just before Gray set out on his second voyage, sailed from Boston in command of the *Hope*. He was active on the coast, particularly around the Queen Charlottes, from 1790 to 1792. His journals form one of the most detailed and interesting of the northwestern narratives, for he was a good writer and artist and a keen observer: he met most of the other explorers who were in the northwest at that time and recorded his impressions of them. Yet the journals have never been published. The four manuscripts are in the Library of Congress, and a few typescripts or photographic copies have circulated, but Ingraham cannot come into his own until some enterprising publisher resurrects him.

Also overdue for resurrection is a fifteen-page pamphlet, wretchedly printed but of great interest and rarity, Ebenezer Johnson's *Short Account of a Northwest Voyage* (33: see illustration number 11). Johnson was a young seaman on board the *India Packet*, which traded in the northwest from 1796 to 1798. His account, seemingly overlooked by most of the historians and bibliographers, is one of the few "lower deck" narratives from the early days and one of the few contemporary personal narratives written by American citizens and published in the United States.

Nowadays feature-editors scour the world in search of good first-hand stories and ghost writers readily turn the halting language of the near-illiterate into acceptable prose; but even an articulate eighteenth-century seaman with a story to relate could rarely find his way into print. One would like to know more about how things looked from the lower deck, to hear the views of such men as John Masefield wrote about in *A Consecration*:

The sailor, the stoker of steamers, the man with the clout,
The chantyman bent at the halliards, putting a tune to the shout,
The drowsy man at the wheel, and the tired look-out.

Ebenezer Johnson gives us glimpses of this everyday life, and so do a few other writers who will be mentioned later. To encounter such narratives after reading some of the more ambitious and elaborately served official accounts is like enjoying a hearty meal of bread and cheese, beer and pickled onions after too long a diet of lobsters and champagne.

A book which Bancroft found useful in his research and which he describes as "most interesting and well written" is Richard J. Cleveland's *A Narrative of Voyages and Commercial Enterprises* (9). Cleveland was an adventurer and fur trader of the old buccaneering type who conducted a four-year expedition in 1799-1802, in the brig *Caroline*, along the coast of Alaska, round the Queen Charlotte Islands and to many other fur trading areas. The following year he went into partnership with Captain Shaler, and the book includes his account of their successful expedition on the *Lelia Byrd*.

Except for Cook's account of his last voyage, no northwestern narrative has been more popular or more often reprinted than John Jewitt's account of his captivity amongst the Indians of Nootka. During the long struggle for supremacy between white man and Indian in North America, many whites were captured by the Indians, taken into slavery, and escaped to write about their experiences. Wading through any large collection of their books, one cannot help feeling sorry that so many got away. For the most part these "Indian Captivities' are remarkably boring and repetitive; but Jewitt's book is *sui generis*.

Jewitt was a young English armourer on board the American ship *Boston*, which sailed from Hull under command of Captain Salter and dropped anchor in Nootka Sound in March 1803. Her complement, including the captain, was twenty-seven. This was the first visit to Nootka by a sizeable trading vessel since the Spaniards and British had pulled out many years before. When the ageing Chief Maquinna came on board, the captain invited him to dinner and made him a gift. All went well until the next day, when Salter (perhaps suffering from a hang-over) forgot that Maquinna understood English and made insulting remarks about him. Within another day or two this indignity was avenged by the tribe when they slaughtered and beheaded the captain and all of the crew except Jewitt and the sail-maker, John Thompson.

Maquinna spared Jewitt because of the young man's skill in making weapons and tools, and Jewitt managed to save Thompson by claiming that he was his father. For more than two years the two men were held captive, until one of the many notes which Jewitt smuggled out through an Indian reached Captain Hill of the *Lydia* in 1805. Meantime, Jewitt and Maquinna had grown really fond of each other, and the final parting was a sorrowful occasion for both of them.

Jewitt's account of these stirring events, and his equally fascinating description of Indian thought and ways — going much deeper than most other contemporary comments on the inter-action of red man and white — appeared in two forms. On reaching Boston in 1807 he published a short, unadorned tale based upon the journal he kept in a blank book salvaged from the Boston, written in ink made of berry juices and charcoal. This is *A Journal Kept at Nootka Sound* (32). The original edition, the New York reprint of 1812, and the limited Boston reprint of 1931 are all scarce.

An amplified version appeared in 1815 as *A Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings* (32), written by Richard Alsop and based closely upon conversations with Jewitt. This or one of the many reprints is the edition usually cited and more familiar to students of northwestern history. The Galleon Press reprint of 1967 includes an excellent introduction, and reprints an article by E. S. Meany on "The Later Life of John R. Jewitt."

Jewitt's story also crops up in a book by a mariner who may have talked to him after his rescue, Samuel Patterson's *Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings* (51: see illustration number 12). Patterson was a seaman under John D'Wolf on the *Juno*, which voyaged to the northwest in 1804-05. He sailed on two other expeditions, including a trip to Alaska in 1807 after which his ship, the *O'Cain*, took on a number of Russian fur-hunters, together with fifty Aleuts and their canoes, and the whole company hunted sea-otters down the coast as far as California.

Another narrative by a crew-member paints a lively picture of life below decks, the personalities and the daily round on a typical trading voyage. A handsome book, edited with introduction and notes by F. W. Howay, it is Stephen Reynolds's *Voyage of the New Hazard* (53). Intermingled with descriptions of minor crimes and major punishments are shrewd comments on the officers and crew, accounts of port life, and all kinds of interesting details such as usually go unrecorded.

With Stephen Reynolds we end this century-long procession of the men who opened the sea lanes and the overland routes to what is now British Columbia: squat Slavs and Spanish grandees, tars and *matelots* and Yankee traders, merchants and explorers, artists and scientists, foot-sloggers and voyageurs, men of blood and men of mercy. Some are famous; most are unknown to history. What they achieved was only a beginning: there remained vast areas of land and ocean for their successors to explore and delineate over the ensuing century. Now that all the lands have been mapped and all the seas charted, our insatiable curiosity and desire for pelf has led us to the ocean floor. What wonders and what riches still await the eye of the scientist, the hand of the artist, and the bite of the explorer's drill?

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